SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE NOBILITY UNDER THE TUGHLUQS

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Dedicated

to

Late Shaikh Muhammad Ismail Baksh

My great grand father

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To Whom It May Concern

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled ***"Socio-Cultural Life of the Nobility under the Tughluqs"*** is the original work of **Ms. Fazeela Shahnawaz**, completed under my supervision. The dissertation is suitable for submission and award of degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

(Dr. Syed Jabir Raza)

Supervisor

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Introduction

The social and cultural life of the nobility under the Tughluqs has not received adequate attention of the historians. The pioneering works were those of Shaikh Abdur Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India* (1200-1526 A. D.), and by K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*. Their efforts have not been followed by other historians. Both these historians discussed the cultural environment of the period but failed to focus on the nobility as a special case of its own.

Among the Sultans of Delhi, the Tughluq dynasty ruled the longest, for about a century (1320-1414 A. D.). The nobility under these Tughluqs has attracted the attention of historians but their socio-cultural life has still been ignored in historical scholarship. The present work seeks to fulfil this lacuna in the history of Delhi Sultanate.

The evidence for the topic is scanty and scattered. Besides the prominent works: Zia Barani (*Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhi*), Shams Siraj Afif (*Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhi*), Isami (*Futuh-us-Salātin*), Ain-ul-Mulk (*Inshā-i-Mahru*), Ibn Battuta (*Rehla*) etc., the works of later period by Yahya Sirhindi (*Tārikh-i-Mubārakshahi*), Nizamuddin Ahmad (*Tabāqāt-i-Akbari*), al-Badaoni (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*), Ferishta (*Tārikh-i-Ferishta*), Bihamid Khani (*Tārikh-i-Muhammadi*), and numerous Arabic and Persian epigraphic records are also utilized for the purpose. Some other lesser use contemporary chronicles, such as *Dastur-ul-Afāzil-fi-lughat-il-Fazāil* of Rafi Hajib-i-Khairat, *Chandāyan* of Mulla Daud, *Ghunyat-ul-Munyā* by anonymous writer as well as

Fatāwa-i-Tatārkhānia by Maulana Alim, besides other significant manuscripts preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh. On the basis of these significant available sources, one may get a better insight into the socio-cultural life of the Tughluqid nobility.

The work is divided into eight chapters dealing with different socio-cultural aspects of the Tughluqid nobility. The first chapter deals with the extant and sources of income of the nobility and reveals their economic prosperity and financial stability. I considered it necessary to examine their income and its sources. My study shows that besides the high amount they received in salaries, the nobles were assigned lands, and received a lot of wealth from gifts and rewards. Some of them also massed wealth through bribe and corruption. The nobles were rich and prosperous and had hoards of wealth.

The second chapter deals with the etiquettes and norms of comportment during the Tughluqid period. Sources refer to the royal court, and participation of the nobles in court rituals. The sources even discuss the courts held by the provincial governors, processions of the Sultans and of the nobles, court ceremonies, noble's harem and their attitude towards Sultans, their colleagues, other nobles, slaves as well as common people. Their manners in the royal court, manner of presenting and receiving gifts from Sultans, ways of meetings, *Sijda* and *Paibos* are much interesting and significantly enough to show etiquettes among them.

The third chapter deals with the feasts held by the nobles, their manners at the table and participation in the festivals like *Īd*, *Nauroz*, Shab-i-Barat, etc.

The fourth chapter deals with the games and other sources for entertainment. Though *Chaughan* (polo) and several other games were popular during Sultanate period, but my more emphasis was on hunting, which was the most popular game and the nobles participated in this game with great zeal. One of the reasons behind the popularity of this game was perhaps sultan's deep interest and passion in it. References from Barani, Afif and several others from Ibn Battuta are enough to show that hunting was the primary game for their entertainment. They referred that the nobles followed Sultans in their hunting excursions with all necessary requirements. References lack to show the involvement of Tughluqid nobility in other game.

Music was another source for entertainment of the Tughluqid nobility. Musical instruments such as drums, reed pipes, flutes, trumpets and haut boys were among the *Maratibs* of the high rank nobles. Besides these, several references of musical instruments like *Duff*, *Nai*, *Chang*, *Rabab* etc. came from other sources. Musicians and singers participated in marriage ceremony of the noble. They even followed the nobles, during this journey. Both male and female, musicians and singers were patronized by the nobles. In this regard Ibn Battuta's travel is of much significance. Significantly enough is the compilation of a work on Indian music, called *Ghunyat-ul-Munyā*, by anonymous author on the demand of a much prominent Tughluqid noble. It is also worthy to mention here that a prominent Tughluqid noble patronized this work on music during the reign of Firuz Shah, when the latter banned anything

against *Sharia*. Thus it shows the importance of music in the life of a noble and patronage given to it, at that time.

My study upholds Afif's view that the nobles followed the pattern set by their Sultans. Their food, dresses, houses, and harem were quite rich and lavish. Their household was the miniature replica of the royal household.

The sixth chapter deals with the public welfare works undertaken by the nobility, such as charitable acts, *Khanqāh* construction, and distribution of food during famine, help in the marriages of the daughters of poor parents, etc. the chapter reveals the norms and ethics among the Tughluqid nobility.

Literature is the mirror of a society. Thus, the seventh chapter highlights the literary contribution of the Tughluqid nobility and discusses the literary works of that period dividing the literature into the following two categories:-

- Literature composed by the nobles.
- Literature patronized by the nobles.

The last line throws light on the architectural activity of the Tughluqid nobility. I was able to make a better use of the Arabic, Persian and some Sanskrit inscriptions to record that a large number of buildings consisting of both religious and secular in nature, such as mosques, tombs, forts, inns, tanks, wells and even *khanqahs* (hospices) were constructed by the Tughluqid nobles and other officials of importance. The construction works exhibited great variety and this indicates that the Tughluqid nobles were great builders and innovators.

Chapter- I

Extent and Sources of Income

The most influential element in the Delhi Sultanate was the nobility. The members of this group generally started their career as slaves of the Sultan or those of other nobles and by faithful services, achieved the rank of an *Amir*. From this stage onwards, they were honoured with higher titles, like *Maliks*, *Khans* and *Amirs*, depending on their achievements. The individual's rank was decided by the *Iqta*, the *Maratib* and the titles, he held as well as his official position at the court.[1]

The appointment on any post or rank was to be approved by the Sultan or that of Sultan's representatives in the various departments of administration and then his salary was fixed accordingly. If the nominee happens to be a foreigner, he had to sign a bond to the effect that he intended to stay in India and that he would not go back to his own country once he was appointed to a post in the imperial service.[2]

Ibn Battuta records some important appointments on various posts. It is said that Sultan appointed Khundawandzada Ziya-uddin to the post of *Amir-i-Dad* (Lord of Justice), one of the great *amir* whose duty was to sit in the Qazi's court and summon before him whenever an *amir* or principal officer was

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[1] S.B.P. Nigam, *Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi,* (1206-1398 A.D.), Delhi, 1967, p. 105.

[2] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla,* Eng. tr. Agha Mahdi Husain, G. O. S. Baroda, 1976, p. xxxix (Hereafter cited as Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*.).

called. Sultan fixed his salary for this post at fifty thousand gold tankas a year and assigned to him a number of Jagirs yielding an equivalent amount. Sultan also ordered him to be given fifty thousand gold tankas forthwith and placed on him a silk robe of honour with gold embroidery of the kind called *Surat-al-Shir*, as well as a horse of superior breed.[3] The next post of *nazir-i-hisābat-i-khass* (head auditor general)[4], was given to Amir Bakht, with the title *Sharaf-ul-Mulk*. His salary was fixed forty thousand gold tankas a year and villages were also assigned to him in *Jagir*. Forty thousand gold tankas and a horse with full equipments were also given to him.[5]

Similarly Ibn Battuta refers to other appointments. Hibatullah-al-Falaki was appointed *Rasuldār* (Chamberlains for missions) with fixed salary of twenty-four thousand gold tankas per year. Villages as *Jagir* were also assigned to him, with twenty four thousand gold tankas in cash, a horse with full equipment and a robe of honour with the title *Bahaul Mulk*.[6] Ibn Battuta himself was appointed the *Qāzi* of royal city of Delhi, by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. His fixed salary was twelve thousand gold tankas per year. Like others, villages as jagirs were assigned to him which yielded much amount and twelve thousand gold tankas in cash were commanded for him. A horse with its

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[3] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Eng. tr. H.A.R. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Battuta* (1325-1354 A.D.), vol. iii, Delhi, 1993, p. 746 (Hereafter cited as Ibn Battuta, *Travels*.); Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

[4] His duty was to sit alongside the Wazir and to examine one account of various government departments. Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. xxxix.

[5] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 746-747.

[6] Ibid., p. 747; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

saddle and bridle and a *Maghribi* robe of honour was invested on Ibn Battuta.[7]

Referring to Malik Qabula, Ibn Battuta says that this Malik enjoyed immense prestige and vast wealth. He was informed by one of his revenue officers that the allowance of Malik Qabula, along with the allowance of his slaves together with their stipends amounted to thirty-six lakhs of gold tankas per year.[8] While Shihab Sultani entitled *Nusrat Khan* was appointed governor of Bidar and neighbouring areas, with a fief yielding a lakh of tankas.[9] Sultan had personal knowledge about nominee's antecedents, aptitudes and their respective merits before appointing them to any post. However, the formality of preliminary test was emphasized in certain appointments.[10]

Amir Ghyasuddin Mahmud of Baghdad, commonly known as Makhdumzada, came to Sultan's court as representative of the *Khalifa* (Caliph) of Baghdad was assigned the territory of Kannauj with revenue of Siri and other area besides a general grant of one lakh tankas.[11] Sometimes appointments were made without fixation of any regular salary and in such case *iqta* was assigned to them. Such appointees were called *Muqtis* and were placed in charge of administrative units. For example Malik Pindar Khalji, known as Qadr Khan, was assigned the *iqta* of Lakhnanti, Malik Izzuddin Yahya became the *muqti* of Satgaon, Alp Khan son of Qutlugh Khan received

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[7] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 747; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

[8] Ibid., p. 665.

[9] Zia Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, 2005, pp. 451,481, 488; Ishwari Prasad, *A History of Qaranuh Turks in India*, vol. I, Allahabad, 1974, pp. 145-146.

[10] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. XL.

[11] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 496; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

iqta of Gujarat, and Maulana Shahabuddin (*Malik-ul-Tujjar*) received the *iqta* of Nausari.[12] While Malik Bahauddin, nephew of Sultan Ghyasuddin, was posted *Ariz-i-Mamalik* with the *iqta* of Samana as his fief.[13] With the accession of Firuz Shah, Khan-i-Jahan was assigned the *iqta* of Samana as *inam* for maintenance and was placed in charge of *Kotwal* of Hansi.[14] Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan was assigned the *iqta* of Hissar Firuzah.[15] Malik-ul-Hukama had the *iqta* of Broach (Gujarat) under his charge.[16] Ain-ul-Mulk was given Awadh and Zafarabad.[17] Thus, most of the nobles were assigned iqtas in lieu of their salary.

Nobles got much wealth from the sultan in form of salary as well as awards. Afif records that Khan-i-Jahan Wazir got thirteen lakh tankas for the maintenance of his troops, sons and dependents. He was also given various *Iqtas* and *parganahs* in addition to that amount.[18] It shows that how much wealth was given by the Sultan to his nobles. The Sultan granted eleven thousand tankas to each son of Khan-i-Jahan, while fifteen thousand tankas for up bringing of each daughter of this wazir knowing that he had several

[12] Barani, *Tarikh,* pp. 354-355; Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* ed. Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 99-100.

[13] Ibid., p. 428; Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. i, Nawal Kishore press, 1875, p. 130.

[14] Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, ed. Maulavi Wilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 75-76; Eng. tr. R. C. Jauhri, *Medieval India in Transition*, Delhi, 2001, p. 64; A.D. Khan, *History of Sadarat in Medieval India*, vol. 1, Delhi, 1988, p. 188.

[15] Ibid., p. 148; Eng. tr., p. 102.

[16] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 113.

[17] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 485.

[18] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297; Eng. tr., pp. 171-172.

offsprings.[19] Similarly, the Sultan used to grant eight lakhs, six lakhs or four lakhs of gold tankas to each noble as salary according to their rank and status.[20]

Sultan Firuz Shah fixed the annual stipend of two lakh tankas to Jam and the same for Bambh, his newly appointed courtiers.[21] Aziz Khammar was made *wali* (governor) of Dhar and Malwa, from which he gained lakhs of tanka.[22] Besides Afif and Barani, other historians also record that Sultan awarded Malik Sanjar Badakshani eighty lakh tankas, while seventy lakh tankas to Malik-ul-Muluk Imaduddin and forty lakhs tankas to Maulana Izzuddin.[23] Likewise Maulana Nasiruddin, Malik-un-Nudama, got one lakh tankas per year and hundred thousand tankas were awarded to Malik Ghazi.[24] Thus all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs were assigned *iqtas* (fiefs) which were for their personal use.[25] Due to the grant of wealth, in cash and kind, by the Sultans to their nobles, all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs generally possessed a large quantity of jewels, gold and diamonds.[26]

Shihabuddin al-Umari, a fourteenth century Arab writer throws significant light on the allowances of the nobles and officers of the Sultan. He was informed by Shaikh Mubarak that one of the *Khans* was the *naib* (deputy)

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[19] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 400; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 165.

[20] Ibid., p. 297; Eng. tr., p. 172.

[21] Ibid., p. 253.

[22] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 503.

[23] Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow, p. 107; Ferishta, *Tarikh*, vol. i, p. 133.

[24] Ferishta, *Tarikh*, vol. I, p. 133.

[25] Shihabuddin al-Umari, *Masalik-ul-Absār fi-Mamalik-ul-Amsar*, Eng. tr, Otto Spies, Aligarh, 1943, p. 28 (hereafter as *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies).

[26] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297; Eng. tr., p. 172.

of Sultan, whose *iqta* was as large as the country of Iraq. Wazir's Iqta was also equally large. Sultan had four *naibs* (known as *Shiqdar*) and their salary ranged from twenty thousand to forty thousand gold tankas. While the *Dabirs* (secretaries) of Sultan (maintaining a staff of 300 scribes) got the salary of ten thousand gold tankas. Some high rank scribes maintained villages in lieu of their salary. Usually fifty villages were assigned to some of them.[27] Khans, Maliks and Amirs were given stipends according to their status for their own expenditure. A *Khan* commanded ten thousand horsemen; *Malik* commanded thousand while only hundred horsemen were commanded by an *Amir*. Below them *Isfahla* have less than hundred. All of them were assigned *iqtas* which would yield more than their due. Thus khan used to receive two lakhs of gold tankas for his personal use and *Malik* got fifty to sixty thousand gold tankas, *Amir* received thirty to forty thousand gold tankas while *Isfahla* got about twenty thousand gold tankas as his salary.[28]

However, Khans, Maliks and Amirs enjoyed handsome income from several sources such as their salary, assignments, gifts or awards comprising gardens as well as villages. They possessed a large staff comprising of male and female attendants and bearers, who accompanies them whenever and wherever they attended the Sultan.[29] It shows wealth and property of the

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[27] Shihabuddin al-Umari, *Masalik-ul-Absar*, Eng. tr. I. H. Siddiqui, in *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information*, Delhi, 1992, p. 119 (Hereafter cited as, *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui); *Masalik,* Eng. tr. Spies, pp. 30-31.

[28] Ibid., pp. 117-118; *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, p. 29; al-Qalqashandi, *Subhul-'Asha*, Eng. tr. Otto Spies, under the title, *An Arab account of India in the 14th Century* (Being a translation of the chapters on India), p. 71 (hereafter cited as Spies, *Arab Account*).

[29] Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Delhi, 1976, p. 429.

nobles. While estimating the wealth and its extant, gifts and awards are worth noting. Gifts either presented to the Sultans or received by the nobles from Sultans indicated that how much wealth was possessed by the Tughluqid nobles. Sultan used to present wealth in form of both cash and kind while the presents among them are also equally important to estimate their wealth. It is informed by Shihabuddin al-Umari, a 14th Century Arab writer that all the persons who were in the service of the Sultan were given costly gifts, iqtas, wealth, jewel, horses, saddles gilded with gold and silver, golden girdles and cloths of various kinds. Elephants were considered as the privilege of the Sultan, so that Sultan did not reward it to his nobles.[30] The noble named Malik Bayazidi from the province of Manikpur gave Sultan huge presents. In return from these presents, Sultan distributed eleven horses of fine breed to Malik Saifuddin Gaddah. At another occasion, he further presented him ten horses with gilded saddles and bridles,[31] since the said Malik had possessed a large number of horses of fine breed.

A merchant governor of Gujarat, namely Tajuddin al-Kawlami, who held enormous wealth used to present the Sultan costly gifts, slaves, camels, weapons and cloth etc. in return of that he was given twelve lakhs of gold tanka in cash by the Sultan himself.[32] Afif also recorded that Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, Wazir of Firuz Shah, used to present the amount of four lakh gold tankas

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[30] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 128; *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, pp. 46-47.

[31] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 78.

[32] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 733-734.

to the Sultan annually.[33] Malik Mujir Abu Rija had presented many horses and gold from his iqta to Malik Fakhruddin Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq).[34] And, when Sultan came back from Daulatabad his Wazir Khan-i-Jahan met him near Bayana and extended the welcome presents which consists a tray full of rubies, another tray full of emeralds and the third one full of precious pearls.[35]

Ibn Battuta records various events when nobles and officers gave presents to each other and to the Sultan. Among them, we have a reference that when Ibn Battuta himself meet the Governor of Multan, Malik Qutbul Malik, he presented him a slave, a horse, and some raisin almonds, which he considered the greatest gift to be given, as the almonds were imported from khurasan.[36] High officials, nobles and governors generally presented horses, elephants, gold and silver jewels and other costly items such as diamonds etc as the Wazir Khan-i-Jahan presented to the Sultan.[37] These presents were offered on certain occasions like on return of Sultan from a hunting expedition, victory over any rebel or enemy, birth of a prince, any ceremony or on the day of festivals. The nobles used to present gold, silver, elephants, camels, horse, slaves, arms, precious stones, and other costly articles to the Sultan according

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[33] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 427; Eng. tr., p. 235.

[34] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Ed. A. S. Usha, Madras, 1948, p. 397; Eng. tr. Mahdi Husain, Bombay, 1977, vol. II, p. 604.

[35] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 663; B.N. Luniya, *Life and Culture in Medieval India*, Indore, 1978, p. 199.

[36] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 605.

[37] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 211.

to their status.[38] Gold embroidered robes were also given as gifts among the nobility.[39] The wealth of the nobles from the revenues of their respective provinces is indicated by the reference of Ibn Battuta that the provincial officers came to the royal court with gifts and amount of revenue from their provinces. They presented gold and silver made vessels, such as basins, ewers and so forth. They also had solid bricks made of gold and silver which were called *Khisht*. Horses gilded with saddles, camels loaded with wealth and mules were also presented by them.[40]

There is a rare reference regarding the six elephants which were presented by Sultan Firuz to Malik Naib Barbak.[41] Similarly, Ibn Battuta also mentions that Sultan Muhammad distributed elephants to his noble. One elephant was also given to Ibn Battuta.[42] In view of Arab writer, elephants were considered royal privileges, thus they were not awarded to the nobles.[43] Camels were also presented by the *Muqtis* every year, along with other costly articles.[44] Horses from the royal stables were also given,[45] equipped with ornamented

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[38] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 267-268; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 198.

[39] Afif records that when Imad-ul-Mulk was received in the vicinity of Delhi, by Khan-i-Jahan, the Wazir, he was presented embroidered robes as gift by the latter. See, Ibid., p. 142.

[40] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 663.

[41] Afif says that these elephants accompanied him in advance, whenever he (Naib Barbak) came to meet the Sultan. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 428-429; Eng. tr., pp. 235-236; Sheikh Abdur Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India,* Calcutta, 1969, p. 18.

[42] Ibn Battuta records that Sultan distributed elephants to his courtiers to enable them to transport their property. And he sent one such elephant to him, with which he transported his baggage. See, Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 109.

[43] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 128; *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, p. 47.

[44] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 339-340; Eng. tr., p. 193.

[45] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 126-127.

saddles and bridles. *Muqtis* who attended the royal court, used to present a number of slaves to the Sultan. They dressed them well, and presented with other numerous gifts like Arab and Turkish horses, elephant, camels, robes, gold and either vessels and other articles according to their status and resources, every year.[46]

After the death of Sultan Muhammad, his Wazir Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz had supported his own candidate and for the purpose distributed huge wealth in cash among the people, to gain their favour, and when there was no more cash in the treasury he started presenting jewels, diamonds and precious pearls among the people till the treasury became totally exhausted.[47]

Sultan had given iqtas and parganas to his nobles, who in turn appointed *naib muqtis* for these *iqtas*. They directed their functionaries to supervise the account which they submitted to them. If dues were pending against these *Muqtis*, their turban was taken off, and only after realization of that amount, it was returned to that person. Thus the nobles were very strict in realizing the revenue from their *iqtas*.[48] It shows that how much they were concern about their wealth. Yahya also referred that when nobles and officers were ordered to reach Daulatabad, the new capital, Sultan Muhammad doubled their gifts and

[46] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 267-269; Eng. tr., p. 157.

[47] That amount was recorded against his name, which was due on him, when Firuz became the Sultan. Cf. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 539; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 52-53, 74; Eng. tr., pp. 52-53, 63; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 120; U.N. Day, *Some Aspects of Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1971, p. 126.

[48] Malik Naib Barbak appointed Muqtas in his own iqtas and used to take off the turban from the head of the Muqta, even if the pending amount was far in excess. He ordered to return the turban, only after realizing as much as amount was paid by him and the balance thereafter he written off. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 432-433; Eng. tr., p. 237.

salary and also presented gold to help them in constructing their houses and to settle in the new capital.[49] It shows that, as referred earlier, that nobles were enormously wealthy and prosperous.[50] They were further given the gifts and extra allowances by the Sultans to live comfortable life.

Despite of rich and wealth of the nobles, it is also informed that they too took loans, perhaps because of their huge expenses. After the death of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz, his prime minister had recruited men, who also gathered around him because of their need and greed. He distributed a large amount of wealth in form of cash and kind, jewelry, pearls and diamonds among them. All the wealth was recorded as loan in the accounts by Khwaja Fakhr Shadi, the accountant General. Though the idea of its recovery was deprived by Sultan Firuz on the consultation of Qewwan-ul-Mulk Khan-i-Jahan.[51] Barani also informs about the loans on interest by Multani merchants and *Sāhus* of Delhi to extravagant and luxurious nobles.[52] They became enormously rich and rewarded by the nobility. They frequently went to the houses of debtor nobles for the recovery of the payment.[53]

Furthermore, it is informed by Ibn Battuta that, every one who came to the court of Sultan of Delhi, came with a gift to gain his favour. In return of it Sultan presented him gifts many times its value. The merchants of Sindh and

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[49] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 99; Eng. tr. K.K. Basu, Karanchi, 1977, p. 101.

[50] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 184-185; Eng. tr., p. 117.

[51] Ibid., p. 92; Eng. tr., pp. 71-72.

[52] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 120; Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 182.

[53] Ibid., p. 204; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 25.

India used to provide thousands of gold tankas in cash as loan, as well as the articles which someone wanted to present to the Sultan. These articles included riding animals, horses, camels and other goods. Loan giving trade made the Sindhi merchants prosperous. On reaching Sindh, Ibn Battuta also took loan for his gifts to Sultan.[54] There was a practice regarding the payment of debt prevalent in India, called *Dohāi*.[55] It was that when the person who provided the money as loan failed to recover it, he tried to seek Sultan's protection. He would stand before the gate of the palace and stop the debtor noble from entering it and demanded their dues. In this condition, debtor either had to pay the debt or take time to pay it. Sometimes the debt was also paid by the Sultan.[56]

In his travel accounts, we can see that Ibn Battuta conspired with his creditors to avoid the payment of his debt, which amounted nearly fifty five thousand gold dinars. He asked them to demand it at the gate of Sultan's palace and stop him from entering it so that Sultan might notice that. The clerks at once communicated it to the Sultan, who just to avoid the noble from humiliation ordered to issue that amount of debt from the royal treasury. After examination of the bonds and documents submitted by creditors, about the genuinity of the debt, the *Khatt-i-Khurd* (certificate of Payment) was issued. Bribe was also demanded for the withdrawal of the amount from the royal

[54] H.A.R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta (Travels in Asia and Africa),* 1325-1354 A.D., Delhi, 1992, pp. 184-185.

[55] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 411.

[56] Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 275.

treasury which he had to pay. Thus frauds and bribe was in practice.[57]

High expenses, costly gifts and luxurious life of the nobles of Tughluq period could not be met with their salaries alone. Although they were given a huge amount as their salaries, they also accumulated large wealth through other means too. The other sources of income provided opportunities for the corruption and exploitation.[58] Thus, the bribe and corruption were other means of income for the nobility. Nobles started accumulating wealth through unrestrained way because of no fear from the spies. As the *iqta* system became hereditary, the *Muqtis* had to take interest in its economic progress to enhance their resource. They started increasing its actual yield, which was assessed at the time of grant, many times, assuring that it would not be transformed to any other individual.[59] The sources also show that the officers like *amils*, *Mutsarrifs*, *Karkuns* and others had collected huge wealth.[60]

The *Insha-i-Mahru* of Ain-ul-Mulk clearly states that people were oppressed for illegal gratification by the officers. They were so tyrant in their collection that in certain cases they even imprisoned people.[61] In this sort of corruption people lived a miserable life, while these officers made a huge profit and accumulated great wealth.

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[57] For details see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 750-751; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures of Ibn Battuta (A Muslim Traveller of 14th C.)*, Sydney, 1986, pp. 195; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 275.

[58] K.S. Lal, *Legacy of Muslim Rule in India*, Delhi, 1992, p. 173.

[59] I.H. Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship under the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 2006, pp. 170-171.

[60] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 292, 385; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 23-24, 195, 346, 347, 472, 477, 479; Rashid,*Society and Culture*, p. 93.

[61] Cf. Ain ul-Mulk, *Insha-i-Mahru*, ed. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Lahore, 1965, letter no. 18, pp. 41-44; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 93.

We have some other references about the corruption in the society through which the prominent nobles of the Tughluq period accumulated vast wealth. Indeed the passion for the accumulation of the wealth made them corrupt and greedy. So much wealth they accumulated their passion for it increased. Sources gave several references about the bribery and corruption,[62] through which great wealth was accumulated by Tughluqid nobles. Afif devoted several pages to criticize the corrupt practices of the prominent noble of Firuz Shah, namely Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija who held the post of *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik* (Auditor General of the Sultanate). Afif writes that because of his over all hold over the Sultan, he started accepting bribes. Even he ignored the welfare of the Sultanate. Thus all the Khans Maliks and Amirs went against him, but they all could not harm him because he was the favourite noble of the Súltan. Afif further informs that in these circumstances, when he found Sultan in his favour, Wazir Khan-i-Jahan depending on his advice, and also the subordination of all Muqtis and functionaries to him, he started taking bribes in greed. Afif repeatedly refers about his acceptance of bribe at various occasions. Firuz Shah was too in his favour that at every second or third day he presented him his own robe to express his favour towards Abu Rija. In this way, he concealed his immense wealth collected through bribe from *Muqtis* and *Parganah* officials. He was much strict in extracting bribes. Those who did not pay him bribes were not permitted to go scot-free. He even presented them before the Wazir Khan-i-Jahan in false charges, who did not pay him bribes

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[62] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 477-487; Eng. tr., pp. 258-263.

and then excuses them only when they paid the amount of bribe to him. Though Khan-i-Jahan knew that he was doing all this only to take bribe, yet he could not do anything to check the matter because Sultan Firuz Shah was in his favour.[63]

Afif further referred that when Malik Abdullah put the charges of bribe and corruption against Abu Rija, Sultan immediately ordered the investigation about it. Then the report from *Diwan-i-Wazarat* came, which disclosed that when the said Malik was *naib* (deputy) in Gujarat, he had borrowed ninety thousand gold tankas from the royal treasury which were never paid by him. This amount was still due on him when he was holding the post of *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik* of the Sultanate.[64]

Abu Rija was accumulating the wealth, thus, due to his hold over administration of the Sultanate, he considered him so privileged and did not paid the loan back to the treasury. No one asked him to pay it because of his position. Another reference about the accumulation of wealth through the corruption was that when Abu Rija was posted in Gujarat, Sultan ordered that all the traders who brought elephants as presents should be paid the compensation (for the elephants which died on the way). Then, the said Malik Abu Rija in his greed showed wrongly the numbers of dead elephants on the way and taken the amount of compensation himself and deposited the wealth in

[63] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp.476-479; Afif says that Khan-i-Jahan told Malik Abdullah that Abu Rija was a very mean person and would not spare him till he offered him bribe, and advised him to report the whole matter to the Sultan and thereby help in the removal of Abu Rija. See, Afif, Tarikh, pp.483-484; Eng. tr., p. 262.

[64] Ibid., pp.485-486; Eng. tr., p. 263; Lal, *Legacy of Muslim Rule*, p. 178; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 170-171.

his own personal treasury.[65] The above incidents show that how much wealth was collected by Abu Rija by means of greed, bribe and corruption, pressing hard on his subordinates and other peoples. By the order of Sultan Firuz Shah, his house was searched to estimate his accumulated wealth which led to the surprising results that brought the amount of precious things in value of eighty thousand gold tankas, another three thousand gold tankas in cash and a box full of golden spears soaked in poison.[66]

Afif further informs that when the gold tanka, in bribe, was taken from a soldier by the official of *Diwan-i-Arz* to approve his horse.[67] At another place he gave a long description about the cheating in the royal mint under the charge of Kajar Shah. On the order of Sultan, Khan-i-Jahan started investigation and found that no noble was involved in it rather it was the fault of the artisans.[68] This trend of corruption among the nobility had deep impact in the society. Imitating the nobility, the people of other classes, such as traders, businessmen, merchants and artisans etc. started indulging in heinous practice of corruption.[69]

All this indicates that corruption was prevalent during the reign of Firuz Shah. As a result, the Wazirs, governors, amils and other rank holders

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[65] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 486; Eng. tr., p. 263. The amount of compensation is not given by Afif, which was deposited by Abu Rija in his own personal treasury.

[66] Ibid., pp. 489-490; Eng. tr., p.265; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p.438.

[67] Ibid., pp. 300-301; Eng. tr., p.173.

[68] Ibid., pp. 344-349; Eng. tr., pp. 195-197.

[69] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 92; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 208.

accumulated huge wealth.[70]

There are several references which directly or indirectly reflect the wealth of nobles and its sources. Regarding the hoarding of wealth, Afif says that when Malik Shaheen Shahna, *naib Amir-i-Majlis* (Deputy Chief of the Court) died, his wealth and property was calculated which amounted fifty lakhs of gold tankas besides it other valuables, jewels, costly robes and diamonds were also found in his vault.[71] Similarly Arab writer of fourteenth Century refers to the hoarding of wealth. For the purpose to wells were dug to hide the amount. Underground tanks with inside holes were constructed to board the gold tankas inside.[72] Afif also informs that Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija had concealed huge wealth in his house which was situated in the royal fort. His wealth was estimated about eighty thousand gold tankas and other three thousand gold tankas in cash were also found from his house.[73]

Imad-ul-Mulk Bashir Sultani was another important Tughluqid noble who had huge wealth and property under his possession which was in crores. The size of his accumulated wealth can be estimated from the fact that once he needed the Hessian bags to keep the cash amount which was in crores. The cost of one such bag was four *jital*, while two thousand and five hundred tankas were spent to purchase these bags to hoard the cash safely. But he did not desire to keep the cash in bags as it provided clues to the wealth and ordered to

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[70] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p.208

[71] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297; Eng. tr., p.172; K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1970, p. 154; Nigam, *Nobility*, p. 166.

[72] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 135.

[73] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 489-490; Eng. tr., p. 265.

dig the wells for keeping the wealth safe. Thus, the wealth was stored in wells as the grain. Although he possessed huge wealth yet he worked very hard all his life.[74] After the death of Bashir, his wealth was calculated and it amounted to twelve crore of gold tankas in which nine crores were taken by Sultan Firuz, while the remaining was distributed among his son Malik Ishaq and his son-in-Law and other adopted sons and slaves. As was well known, his son, Malik Ishaq was himself having enough wealth he did not require the wealth from his father. In short, according to Afif, Bashir was the master of huge wealth and like him most of the khans and Maliks of Firuz Shah were rich and wealthy. It would be correct to assert that none was richer than Bashir and no one possessed more wealth than him.[75]

Though Firuz Shah knew about the vast wealth of Bashir and also about the way in which it was collected, he deliberately did not take any action against him and also affirmed Bashir's property as his own property because Bashir was his slave. Bashir also freed four thousand slaves which he had purchased.[76] In view of modern scholars, the wealth of Bashir Sultani, put the suspicion on him because thirteen crore gold tankas were not possible with the *iqta* of Rapri which he was holding.[77]

Ibn Battuta also noted down the wealth of a noble, Malik-ul-Tujjar

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[74] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 439-44.

[75] Ibid., p. 440; Eng. tr., p. 241.

[76] Ibid., pp. 441-442, 444; Muhammad Habib and K.A. Nizami, (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. V, Part-I, Delhi, 1982, p. 616.

[77] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 93; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 79. Cf. the details of wealth and about *iqta* of Rapri. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 440-441.

Tajuddin Kawlami, who was governor of Cambay. He accumulated huge wealth through trade with different countries of Asia and Africa, and also constructed a beautiful college in Egypt. He came to Delhi with a large number of gifts comprising slaves, camels, merchandise, weapon and woven stuffs. In turn, the Sultan awarded him twelve lakhs of tankas, though amount of his gift was about one lakh tanka. He was appointed governor of Cambay from where he sent ships to Malabar and Sri Lanka and other places. In these ships valuable articles in form of gifts came to him which made him enormously wealthy.[78]

Lastly, the account of the wealth of an important Malik residing at Delhi is supplied by Shihabuddin al-Umari. This particular noble was addicted to drinking and though Sultan advised him to give up wine but he did not pay heed to it. The Sultan got so angry that he decided to confiscate all his wealth, which according to the author of *Masalik* was about 43,700,000 *Mithqals* of gold.[79] It shows that how much wealth was under the possession of that anonymous. The passion for the accumulation of wealth among the nobility was well known. One more example came to us from Isami, that Bhiran, the Muqti of Gulbarga, knowing the fertility and revenue of Kohir (which was under Ali Shah), tried to bribe Qutlugh Khan, governor of Daulatabad, by writing a letter along with huge presents including horses, wealth and clothes. He also offered fifty percent more revenue paid by the present muqti of that

[78] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 733-734; I.H. Siddiqui, *Social Mobility in the Delhi Sultanate*, ed. Irfan Habib in *Medieval India I (Researches in History of India – 1200-1750)*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 30-31.

[79] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 123.

period.[80] Similarly, Shamsuddin Damghani offered forty lakhs of tankas per year along with hundred elephants, two hundred Arab horse, four hundred slaves, against the tax of Gujarat.[81] Thus, it shows that though the nobles were much wealthy, receiving high salaries and huge gifts in form of both cash and kind, yet they further tried hard to get much more wealth as far as it was possible.

To conclude, it is clear that nobles possessed huge wealth but they spent it enormously. Thus they were addicted to take loan, sometimes bribe the people and then accumulate to spend further because of their lust for luxury. They spent it as much as they liked, because it was not possible to hoard huge wealth. Their salaries and assignments were for their personal use, having enough financial resources to live extravagantly.[82] They even used freely, the articles of gold and silver and other precious things which were considered against *Sharia*, and prohibited by Firuz Shah.[83] Their houses were miniature of royal court. Strangely, their wealth and magnificent life occasionally excited jealousy of the Sultan themselves.[84] Thus, the nobles sometimes got their salary in cash, while some of them got it in form of *jagir* (fief), which yielded large amount for them. It was the major source of their wealth, but they were accustomed to bribe and the corruption too. Besides, the practice of presenting

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[80] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 474-475; Eng. tr, vol. iii, pp. 726-727.

[81] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 132; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117.

[82] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, pp. 178-179.

[83] Firuz Shah Tughluq, *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, ed. Azra Alavi, Delhi, 1998, p. 13; Ashraf, *Life and Condition*, p. 207.

[84] K.M. Munshi, *History and Culture of Indian People, (Delhi Sultanate),* Vol. 4, Bombay, 1960, pp. 613-614.

gifts among them and others bestowed by Sultan upon them (both in cash and kind) were also lucrative and made them enormously wealthy. Thus the nobility was the chief consuming class in the Tughluq period. Rich and prosperous, it decidedly shaped the production process and the culture of refined tastes and consumption.

Chapter-2

Etiquettes and Norms of Comportment

Historians of medieval India have not paid adequate attention to the court cultures in the Sultanate period. This is rather unfortunate because court etiquettes, norms of comportment and the rituals and ceremonials served to legitimate state power and control. The court culture, with all its excess and display, as also etiquettes and norms, was actually an instrument of domination, and legitimated the political structure. The contemporary sources fortunately, provides ample evidence about the court culture in the Sultanate period, elaborating in details the holding of royal court, the royal processions, gift-exchanges, etiquettes, rituals and ceremonials. Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveler to the court of sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah for example provides a vivid picture of the royal court and the palace gates. Before describing the court of the Sultan, he discusses the gates of the royal palace and the procedure through which the nobles and other dignitaries passed through them. He says that royal Palace (*Dār-i-sara*) at Delhi had several gates and at each gate men were posted who not only defended the fort but also participated in the court rituals, blowing clarions and trumpets to announce the visitors, and on specific occasion to ritually reinforce royal passes. Whenever an Amir or a noble entered the gates, the clarions announced his arrival through the blowing of his clarions. The chief palace officer (*naqib-un-nuqaba*) used to sit on a big

platform, while the other officers stood before him in their uniform.[1] Entry record was maintained by the gate secretaries (*Kuttab-ul-bāb*). Nobody was permitted to enter the gates without the prior permission of the Sultan. Even when an official absented himself for three days or more from the royal palace, he had to seek Sultan's permission to be able to enter the palace.[2]

The royal court was magnificently decorated, with pomp and excess, on special occasions such as to welcome an envoy or a distinguish guest, or to announce the coronation of a monarch or to commemorate an event, or to celebrate the birthday of the Sultan, accept the *nazrs* (presents from nobles and others) and *nirurs* from his subjects. Likewise the royal court also assembled to celebrate the victory or the marriages or birth of a prince or princesses.[3] According to Ibn Battuta's description of the royal court, Sultan at first adorned the throne. Wazir used to stand infront of the Sultan and Secretaries (*Dabir*) stood behind the Wazir, then the Chamberlains (*Hajibs*) together with the head Chamberlain (*Kabir-ul-Hujjab*) and then the *Khāss-i-Hajib* (special chamberlains) and *Saiyyid-ul-Hujjab* (chief chamberlain) occupied their places respectively with whole of their staffs. The *Hajibs* were followed by hundred

[1] Ibn Battuta furnishes detailed description of the norms at palace gates. He narrates that at the second gate sits the gatekeeper who were appointed for the purpose. And between the second and third gates was a big platform on which sat the chief palace officer (*nāqib-unnuqaba*) who holds in his hands gold cap studded with jewels and surmounted with peacock feathers. And, the palace officers stood before him each wearing a gold cap, girding his loin with a sash and holding in his hand a whip with gold or silver handle. And, this second gate leads to a big and extensive hall wherein sat the people. As for the third gate, round about it was platforms on which the gate secretaries (*kuttab-al-bāb*) sat. One of their duties was not to let any person enter, unless by royal appointment; and for every entry the number of companions and attendants in his escort was fixed. Whenever anybody comes to this gate, the gate secretaries write down that so-and-so had came in the first hour or the second hour of the day; or at any later hour till the close of the day. Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla* pp. 57-58

[2] Ibid., pp. 57; *Masalik* Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 130.

[3] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 71-72.

naqibs. When the Sultan took his seat, *Hajib* and palace officials called out *Bismillāh* loudly. Malik Qabula stood behind the Sultan, holding a fly-flap in his hand, to drive away the flies. Hundreds of soldiers, well-equipped with shields, swords and bows, stood on either sides of the Sultan. The Qāzis, Khātibs, Shaikhs, great amirs, foreign visitors, as well as the commanders of the army, in order, saluted the Sultan in the vast council-hall. Besides them, decorated horses (with saddles, bridles and royal tapering over them) and trained elephants caparisoned with golden silk cloth, saluted the Sultan by bending their heads. As they did so, the chamberlains pronounced *Bismillāh* loudly.[4]

It is said that under Sultan Firuz shah, there were three audience Halls for holding the royal court and one among them was known as the Vine Palace (*Mahal-i-Guli wa Daka*) reserved for meetings with influential nobles, like the like Khans, Maliks, Amirs, literary celebrities, etc. Afif in his *Tārikh-i-Firuzshahi* gives detailed description of the royal court of Sultan Firuz Shah. He says that the royal court started with the devotional recitations and prayers. The Sultan was always the first to sit, and once he had seated himself on the throne, the grand ushers and their subordinates presenting themselves, sought Sultan's permission to introduce all the courtiers for salutations. Then the Hajibs (chamberlains), directed by usher saluted the sultan. Then the officers of *Diwan-i-Rasalat*, and *Dabirs* of *Diwan-i-Qaza* came, and then office bearers of *Diwan-i-wizarat* were also admitted respectively. They all stood on their

[4] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 58-59.

respective places, to the right side of the throne. Afterwards the *Diwan-i-Arz* accompanied with Kotwāls came to salute the Sultan. They occupied their respective seats to the left side of the royal throne, while the princes and other trustworthy persons stood behind the royal throne. Some amirs, maliks, Iqtadārs, and other officials also stood on the left side. They were assigned their places according to their ranks.[5]

Afif informs us that no one was allowed to attend the royal court without his headgear or woolen cap.[6] As a prescribed dress nobles *Khilat* (robe of honour) consisting of tunic of brocade, tartar cap, white belt and a waistband of gold. The nobles who were not given the robe of honour put a fur coat and a fur cap. The court officials presented themselves in their official costumes with other emblems of their respective offices.[7]

However at the royal court places were assigned to the nobles according to their ranks and positions. Even appropriate seats were provided to their retainers. Khan-i-Jahan, who was the prime minister of Sultan Firuz shah, enjoyed high rank and position, and had his seat to the right, near the throne of Sultan. While another prominent noble namely Amir Muazzam Amir Ahmad Iqbal sat with bended knees behind the Wazir Khan-i-Jahan, on a slightly raised seat, reserved for him. It shows that Amir Ahmad Iqbal was neither superior nor inferior in rank and position to that of Khan-i-Jahan. Then, Malik

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[5] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 277-280.

[6] Ibid., pp. 277-280; Eng. tr., pp. 161-163; This costume became so fashionable that every one attending the court put it on gladly, giving up the front open *qaba* which had been liked heretofore.; Great importance was given to wearing of uniforms such as, socks, hair ribbons, woolen caps, and robes. Cf. J. M. Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughluq*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 90-91; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Appendix-J, pp. 651-652.

[7] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 73.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Amir Hasan Amir-i-Miran, *Naib-Wazir-i-Mamalik* (deputy prime minister) sat below Khan-i-Jahan. These were three important nobles sitting near the royal throne.[8]

Qāzi Sadr-i-Jahan and Banbh[9] (the courtier) had occupied their seats behind the right side of Khan-i-Jahan, on a carpet. Banbh sat cross-legged, and Mangal Khan Ugli had a seat near him. While at some distance to the left, Zafar Khan bin Zafar Khan sat on a double folded carpet, and Ahmad Khan Khurasani sat near him. Rai Mardar Deo, Rai Sabir and Rawat Adheran sat behind them.[10]

Afif further says that Khan-i-Jahan, Wazir of Sultan, accompanied with officials of *Diwan-i-Wazarat*, bowed respectively to the Chamberlain. All the officials stood on the right side. The sons, brothers and other relatives of Wazir stood up ahead of the officials of Diwan-i-Wazarat at a distance of two men each. Then, Wazir moved towards the royal throne and kissed the ground twice. They occupied their seats after getting the instruction from the Sultan, and before taking their seats they kissed the ground a third time.[11] It was also a royal practice, not to converse or communicate with other officials in the presence of the Wazir. When the Sultan wanted someone to be appear before him, he would indicate the same to Khan-i-Jahan, who, in turn, would present the wanted person to the Sultan. Even when the Sultan was displeased with

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[8] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 280; Eng. tr., p. 163; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, pp. 91-92.

[9] Former ruler of Thatta who then came under the subordination of Firuz Shah.; For details refers, Ibid., pp. 241-250.

[10] Ibid., pp. 280-281; Eng. tr., pp. 163-164; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 91; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 652-653.

[11] Ibid., pp. 281-282; Eng. tr., p. 164.

someone, he would not communicate his anger to him directly, but indirectly through the Wazir.[12] According to Afif the real reason behind this was that the Wazir was accountable before the king for the entire kingdom and every one, whether a son of the Sultan or a brother, had to be accountable to him. Owing to this, the officers in the Sultanate were generally inimical to the Wazir.[13]

An Arab traveller informs us that nobody sits in the presence of Sultan except the Khans, Sadr-i-Jahan, and Dabirs and that nobody enters his presence with weapons, not even with a small knife. Everyone was inspected before reaching the Sultan.[14]

Ibn Battuta describing the *Īd* darbar says that, 'on the day of *Īd*, whole palace was decorated magnificently and when Sultan ascended the throne, the chamberlain called out *Bismillāh* loudly. Then people came forward to salute him. First came the judges (*Qāzi*), orators, *Ulama*, Saiyyids, *Mashaikh* and then Wazirs, military chiefs, and commanders of troops came to salutations. Each of them greeted him. After it; royal dinner was served to all according to their ranks. Young waiters (*fityān*) sprayed rose-water on the people.[15]

The courtiers were generally well trained in court's manners and etiquettes. *Qabus-nama* of Kaikaus bin Iskandar bin Qabus, written in the year 1082-1083 A. D. was considered a work of great importance and was frequently referred to by the elites because it contained rules of conduct and

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[12] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 282-283; Eng. tr., p. 164; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 92.
[13] Ibid., p. 283.
[14] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, p. 50; similarly Ibn Battuta says that in a public Darbar nobody sits. Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 58; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 198-199.
[15] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 62-63.

etiquettes for the king and the nobles.[16] It was the custom that whenever a noble or official passed through the capital, it was obligatory to meet the Sultan and offered respect to him. It is well known that, when Malik Kabir was the *naib* (of Sultan), Malik Mujeer Abu Rija (*Muqta* of Delhi), while passing through the vicinity of Delhi, did not want to meet Malik Kabir, because of his excessive pride. Malik Kabir, after consulting the matter with the courtiers, called Malik Mujeer who did not offers the usual salutations even when he was told to do so; and refused to do the usual custom of lowering his head (*sajda*).[17] In the light of the prescribed etiquettes of the period, the behaviour of Malik Mujeer was considered quite inappropriate.

Once Firuz Shah, at Hissar Firuzah, had called all the courtiers and held a general meeting. Khan-i-Azam Zafar Khan from Sonargaon offered his salutations to the Sultan, with great humility, from the seat of *Hajib*, in the presence of all Khans and Maliks. He presented an elephant to the Sultan and then performed *paibos* (kissing the feet of Sultan). He was given a gift in return and a title, as well. On the next day, in the general meeting of the court, Zafar Khan again performed *paibos* thrice, and then kissed the ground.[18] Afif further refers that when Firuz Shah informed his companions and courtiers about his

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[16] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 247, 283; Sultan Firuz Shah directed Malik Saifuddin Khoju to trained the newly arrived courtiers, Jam and Banbh, in the court etiquettes; S. B. P. Nigam, *Administrative Training of the Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi* (1206-1398 A. D.), Islamic Culture, vol. VLI, no. 2, April 1976, p. 91.

[17] Ibid., pp. 452-453; Eng. tr., pp. 246-247.

[18] Ibid., pp. 139, 141; Eng. tr., pp. 98-99.

intentions to retreat from Thatta towards Gujrat they all listened to his address with great respect and kissed the ground.[19]

Chroniclers provide numerous instances of the *paibos* as the general etiquette of the period among the nobility. Isami in his *Futuh-us-Salatin* referred to Ulugh Khan performing the royal *paibos*.[20] Tughluq Shah took his head into his lap as a mark of his appreciation.[21] Likewise the *paibos* performed by Nasiruddin (brother of Bahadur Bura of Lakhnauti) indicates the royal etiquettes of Tughluqid nobility .[22] In return of *paibos* performed by the noble, the Sultan also kissed his hand out of kindness, seat allotted to Nasiruddin to sit on a golden chair and then asked him about the state affairs.[23] It clearly indicates that Khans, Maliks, Amirs, officials and other distinguished persons respected Sultan greatly and whenever and wherever they listened the name of the reigning Sultan, they bowed their heads and showed their respects for the sultan.[24]

The procedure for meeting the Sultan and paying him respects was also prescribed. There were etiquettes that determined the procedure through which the nobles presented themselves and offered salutations before the Sultan. Whenever they met the Sultan, they were expected to carry presents for him like horses, camels, fruits, weapons, slaves, and other valuable things. Then

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[19] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 205; Eng. tr., pp. 128.
[20] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 393; Eng. tr, vol. ii, pp. 598, 606, 610, 623-624.
[21] Ibid., p. 403; Eng. tr., pp. 610.
[22] Ibid., p. 413; Eng. tr., pp. 623-624.
[23] Ibid., pp. 413, 433; According to Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 245, Jam, a courtier of Firuz Shah kissed his feet.; Also see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 747, 750-751.
[24] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 121; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 77; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 198.

they were introduced to the Sultan according to their ranks. They were given gold embroidered robes of honour. Describing the norms, Ibn Battuta writes that when he was introduced to the Sultan, the chamberlain bowed his head and he also did the same. Then *Amir-i-Hajib* Malik Firuz advanced to receive him, he again bowed a second time to honour him. *Malik-un-Nadama* called him addressing *Bismillāh*. When he reached near the Sultan, the Sultan took him by hand and shook hands with him. Ibn Battuta kissed his hand about seven times, whenever Sultan complimented him.[25] Whenever the courtiers and amirs wished to meet the Sultan, they first consulted about it and sent a noble requesting Sultan for an audience. It is said that when Firuz Shah ascended the throne, the amirs and the nobles decided to meet the Sultan, thus they sent Malik Imad ul-Mulk with a request for an audience. In a granted permission all amirs bowed their heads before Firuz Shah at the audience.[26]

When an amir or any person committed a mistake, he had to present himself before the Sultan, with humility. Contemporary historian Afif records a description of political mistake and guilty. In his words after the accession of Firuz Shah, Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz presented himself before the Sultan at the royal court.[27] In an apologetic state Khwaja Jahan put an iron chain around his neck, removed the turban from his head and put on a cap, hung a naked sword across his throat and appeared on the left side of the royal curtain, so that he might salute the Sultan from a distance.[28]

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[25] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 125-126.
[26] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 72-73; Eng. tr., pp. 62-63.
[27] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 79.
[28] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 70; Eng. tr., pp. 61-62.

The governors also used to hold the audiences in their respective territories, as the contemporary evidence suggest. One such description we find in the *Rehla* of Ibn Battuta. He narrates that in his public audience, Malik Qutbul Mulk sat on a carpeted dais. The Qāzi named Salar and the preacher sat beside him. On the left and right side of the governor, commanders of the troops were ranged in a row, while the armed men stood at his back. The troops were passed in review before him.[29]

Likewise Afif mentions that a noble namely Malik Ibrahim *Naib-i-Barbak*, held his court at the central courtyard of the royal palace. At his court, swordsmen appeared in attendance and stood in the rows.[30] While Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (*Mustaufi-i-Mamalik*) used to hold his assembly in the *Diwan-i-Wazarat*.[31]

Besides, we are informed that the Sultan sent every year two robes of honour, one in winter and other in summer, to his every *amir* in command of a city and to the principal officers of his troops. As per the prescribed norms whenever the robes arrived the *amir* and the troops went out to receive them and on reaching the person, who brought them, they alighted from their horses and took their robes, laid it on then shoulder and paid homage in the direction of the Sultan.[32] Certain etiquettes were observed while receiving the royal gift. One had to bow with his right hand touching the ground, at the time of accepting the royal gift. Even when the Sultan sent food for to a noble, he had

[29] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 605-607.
[30] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 431; Eng. tr., pp. 236-237.
[31] Ibid., pp. 455-456; Eng. tr., p. 248.
[32] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 731.

to perform the same etiquette.[33] Further Ibn Battuta gave us a good illustration of the royal manners and etiquettes performed by the nobles. He says that when Sultan awarded money, robes and horses to him, he performed the prescribed etiquettes that were prevalent at that time in India. He further says that every one among them (he and his companions), placed the purse (of money, given by sultan) on his shoulder, proceeded to the Sultan and then bowed to him.[34]

There was also a prescribed manner to offer presents to the sultan. Ibn Battuta says that when a person came to the royal palace with presents, the *Hajibs* (chamberlains) waited on the Sultan according to their ranks. *Amir-i-Hajib* followed his *naib*, appeared first, then the *Khāss-i-hajib* followed with his *naib*, and then *Wakil-i-Dār* (court secretary) also followed with his *naib* and then *Saiyyid-ul-Hujjab* and *Sharaf-ul-Hujjab*. They bowed at three places and informed the Sultan about the person, who came with presents to the sultan. Getting the permission from sultan, they placed the present on the hands of the noble who showed it before the audience, in a manner that Sultan may look it. Then the person who brought the present was called by the Sultan. He bowed three times before the Sultan and then again bowed near the place of *Hajib* (chamberlain). If he was a high ranked noble, his place was in the row of *Amir-i-Hajib*, otherwise he stood behind him. He was addressed by Sultan with great kindness and was warmly welcomed. If the person, who presented gift, was a man of his rank, the Sultan shook hands and even embraced him. And, if the

[33] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 64, 114; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 77.

[34] He further says that, 'There were brought horses, whose hoofs we kissed after a piece of cloth had been placed thereon. And, we personally led those horses to the gate of Sultan's palace, where we mounted them. All these ceremonies form a custom among the Indians.' Cf. Ibid., p. 131.

present included arms and clothes, Sultan turned them up with his hand and expressed his approval. The Sultan then granted him according to his rank, a robe of honour, some cash (for shampooing his hair), that was the custom in India, at that time.[35]

Similarly, the manner of presenting gifts to the Sultan was noted by Afif, in a very graphic manner. It is said that, when Firuz Shah reached near Firuzabad, after gaining victory, Khan-i-Jahan, his *Wazir* forwarded lots of presents by way of *Nazrana*. Banners were erected all around the capital city. That night was celebrated as *Īd*. And, on the next mourning, everyone presented himself in front of the royal court. Here, Khan-i-Jahan paid obeisance to the Sultan. And, when Sultan entered the city, all the presents and cash offered by the officials of the city were presented before the Sultan for his inspection. First of all, the presents of Khan-i-Jahan (*Wazir*) were shown. After that the presents of Malik-ul-Sharq Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk (*naib Wazir*) were brought. Later on, the presents offered by all other *Khans*, *Amirs*, *Ulemas*, Sufi saints, *Shaikhs*, *Syeds*, theologians, honoured citizens, and general public and also of such officers who came from distant places were shown.[36]

The provincial officials or *Muqtas* also presented gift to the sultan in a set manner whenever they come to the court of the sultan, they brought large amount of presents for Sultan. They presented golden and silver utensils in the form of bowls, ewers, and other things. They also brought with them gold in the shape of bricks, which they called *Khisht*. Sultan's slaves called *Farrāsh*

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[35] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 59; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 199-200.
[36] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 290.

(valets) stood in a row, holding in their hands articles from among the presents. Then, the elephants among the gift were brought, leading to the saddles and bridled horses, mules, and camels, laden with money, at last.[37]

Gifts were presented to the Sultan by high officials, as Khan-i-Jahan, Wazir of Sultan, had presented him in the vicinity of Bayana, when he arrived from Daulatabad. Prominent articles among it, were three trays full of the precious pearls, emerald stones and rubies respectively.[38] Similarly, whenever official or amir absented himself from Sultan's palace for a number of days, with or without his permission, he was not allowed to enter the palace gates, until he offered a present before the Sultan according to his ranks and positions. The gifts included horses, camels, weapons and other things.[39]

Nobles also presented embroidered dresses as gift to each other whenever they meet. Afif informed that when Malik Imadul Mulk reached the vicinity of Delhi, he met Khan-i-Jahan who placed embroidered robes before him as a mark of etiquette.[40]

The social etiquette involved in gift-exchanges is illustrated in the gifts given by Makhdum Jahan, Sultan's mother to Ibn Battuta, then *Qazi* of Delhi.[41] He says that when he was taken to the gate of the palace, he did homage, and the *Hajib* (chamberlain) called out *Bismillāh.* He remained standing with the Wazir, until a chest containing unsewn fabrics (of silk, linen, and cotton) was brought from inside the palace. Then golden platters full of dried fruits, another

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[37] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 603; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 60.
[38] Ibid., p. 603; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 78; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 199.
[39] Ibid., pp. 659-660.
[40] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 237; Eng. tr., p. 142.
[41] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 747.

with juleps and third with betel were brought. It was the custom that one (to whom the platter was brought) took it in his hand, placed it on his shoulder and then did homage with his other hand touching the ground. This etiquette was performed by Wazir, who took the platter in his hand, to indicate that, the same should be done by Ibn Battuta, as well. He paid his homage in this prescribed manner, at the gate of the palace of Sultan's mother.[42]

As far as the attitude of the nobles and their behaviour towards the Sultans is concerned, it was informed to us by Arab writer that none of the amirs and khans lived with Sultan in his palace, and none of them stayed there except on duty. When the duty was over they went back to their own houses.[43] Afif also refers to the behaviour of a noble and his extreme affection for the Sultan. The noble Malik Ibrāhim Naib Barbak had good conduct and pious intentions towards the Sultan.[44] Afif says that the aforesaid noble would eat only after the Sultan Firuz Shah had taken his meal. If Firuz Shah observed a voluntary fast, the said noble did the same, shunned food. If the Sultan missed his betel leaf on any day, he would also not take the betel leaf either. His messengers would carry the information to him, that the Sultan had taken the betel leaf and only then he would take the betel leaf. Afif further says that once Firuz Shah observed fast due to his illness, the said Malik also observed the fast.[45]

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[42] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 736-737.
[43] *Masalik*, Eng. tr. Spies, p. 26.
[44] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 430; Eng. tr., p. 236.
[45] Ibid., p. 429; Eng. tr., p. 236.

Similarly Tatar Khan's behaviour towards the Sultan is worth mentioning. Tatar Khan was the eldest and senior most noble of the Tughluqs. He was so close to the Sultan that he even caught hold of the arm of Firuz Shah to forcibly seat him on the throne, when the latter refused to assume the sovereignty.[46] Tatar Khan's behaviour with the Sultan can be better understood with the incident noted down by Afif. The Sultan was in habit of drinking wine, once when he was just ready to commence the drink it was informed to him that Tatar Khan had come to meet him. Firuz Shah did not approve of his arrival in such a manner. So he decided to send Khan off on some pretext. But he insisted to meet the Sultan and refused to depart until he was allowed to meet. When he entered the camp, Sultan concealed the wine and vessels below the bed, and sat on the carpet, so that Khan could not see it. Tatar could sense the smell of wine and saw the wine stored below the bed. For a while he sat silently, bowing his head and then advised Sultan not to take wine as it was improper for the Sultan. Though Sultan confessed at the moment, yet after his departure he pondered over the behaviour of Tatar Khan and concluded that the Khan, unmindful of the royal prestige and majesty had committed breach of decorum through his disrespectful manner.[47] Afterwards Tatar Khan was appointed as *Muqta* of Hissar Firuzah, just to send him far off.[48]

Furthermore Afif throws light on the behaviour of extremely devoted noble of the Sultan Imad ul-Mulk Bashir Sultani, the *Ariz-i-Mamalik*. It is said that Sultan had consulted him privately about the secret matters relating to the

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[46] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 46.
[47] Ibid., pp. 78, 146.
[48] Ibid., p. 148.

sultanate. Imad ul-Mulk always responded positively and his advice appealed to the Sultan. Describing the frankness of Bashir with the Sultan, Afif mentions that he was so much frank with the Sultan that whenever he wished, he could go to the palace or outside the palace to meet the Sultan at any time for conversation.[49]

The behaviour of the nobles towards other officials and common people is also of some significance. In this regard Afif narrates the behaviour of a noble, Malik Ibrahim commonly known as Malik Naib Barbak, towards the Muqtas or Iqtadars and other officials of the Sultanate. He was very strict towards these muqtas and ordered the functionaries of his household to view the account submitted by them. He ordered these functionaries that if there were outstanding dues against any iqtadar he was to be brought before him, and then he would take off the turban from the head of the muqta. The turban was given to the charge of royal attendants. And when the defaulting Iqtadar appeared without his turban to Malik Naib Barbak, he would lower his eyes. It communicated shame to that Muqta. Turban was returned back only after the payment of defaulted amount.[50] Afif considered it as the action of his pious disposition. Furthermore, the behaviour of Malik Naib Barbak with another noble is also worth mentioning. In the absence of Sultan, Malik Naib Barbak remained in the royal palace at Delhi while Khan-i-Jahan as deputy of the Sultan looked after the affairs of the Sultanate. It was informed that before going to his office, Khan-i-Jahan would first go to the palace to pay respect to

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[49] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 437-438; Eng. tr., p. 239.
[50] Ibid., pp. 432-433; Eng. tr., p. 237.

Malik Naib Barbak, who lived in the central palace. On the arrival of khan-i-Jahan, Malik Naib too showed great respect and behaved courteously and politely, even walked a few steps while welcoming him. Khan-i-Jahan returned to his office after such exchange of respects.[51]

As for the behaviour and relations among the nobility, it is said that whenever Imad ul-Mulk Bashir was came to meet Khan-i-Jahan, the latter would get up from his seat to welcome him and promptly paid respects and homage to Imad ul-Mulk. Imad ul Mulk also respected Khan-i-Jahan very much. He would put his hand on the shoulder of Khan-i-Jahan, when engaged in conversations with him. As their houses were adjacent to each other, Khan-i-Jahan had to pass across latter's house, so whenever he (Khan-i-Jahan) moved out for his office, with all his prime ministerial escort, he would direct them not to beat drums and clarions infront of the house of Imad ul Mulk. Khan-i-Jahan stood infront of the residence of Imad ul-Mulk, till the latter came out, during the absence of the Sultan, on the *Īd* days. Then, both went together for the *Īd* prayers.[52] The evidence further adds that when the procession of marriage party of Amir Saifuddin Gaddah passed by the residence of the Amir, the latter came out to salute them (both bride and bridegroom) and scattered over them gold and silver coins until the bridegroom was brought to the palace of her husband Amir Saifuddin.[53]

The manners and etiquettes have also been recorded in the chronicles regarding the meetings of two nobles. One reference comes to us that when

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[51] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 430-431; Eng. tr., p. 236.
[52] Ibid., pp. 443-444; Eng. tr., p. 242.
[53] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 688-689.

Imad ul-Mulk arrived near Delhi; Khan-i-Jahan came to receive him. When the former saw Khan-i-Jahan, he alighted from his horse, bowed down to touch the feet of Khan-i-Jahan, while coming near to him. Khan-i-Jahan also bowed towards the feet of Imad ul-Mulk, and ultimately both of them embraced each other and then sat together. Khan-i-Jahan presented embroidered robes to Imad ul-Mulk as a mark of gesture.[54]

When a noble was on his ceremonial visit to another noble, he was received by his host noble at some distance. On coming close to each other, they alighted from their horses and removed their canopies and advanced towards each other, welcoming warmly. Then at the house of the host, the guest was given every comfort.[55]

As for the noble's behaviour with their subjects and the common people, it is well known that nobles imitated the Sultans and followed the ways adopted by them.[56] So they behaved with common people just like they were treated by their Sultans.

The contemporary records also shed light on the noble's behaviour towards the needy and the deserving poor people. The reference indicates that once a poor and unemployed father of some daughters came to Syed ul-Hujjab, entitled Malik Maruf, for his help to arrange the marriages of his daughters. Malik advised him to pass in the royal procession with some wheat in his hand. The poor man did the same. Then Malik took wheat from his hand and presented them to the Sultan. Sultan kissed them with his eyes and asked the

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[54] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 237; Eng. tr., p. 142.
[55] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp, 263-264.
[56] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 471; Eng. tr., p. 255.

demand of that person. The Malik then explained the matter succeeded in fixation of a *tanka* daily as *zakat* to him from the Sultan.

Besides noble's behaviour, the institution of Harem and slaves of the nobles and their behaviour towards them, as significant for the discussion regarding the etiquettes and norms of comportments. Looking at the Harem of nobles, on the basis of available sources it can be presumed that big harem and large number of slaves were maintained by most of the nobles during the period. Young women and beautiful slave girls were available, and these were used as mistresses.[57] Afif tells us about the large harem of Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, Wazir of Firuz Shah, and slave maids in it. He says that this Malik had numerous sons because of his harem ladies. Afif also informs us that he was fond of women and that there were about two thousand women belonging to Rome and China, in his Harem.[58] He tells us that each of his harem member appeared before him after due beautification in full glow and dressed finely. Being so engaged in state affairs, he also enjoyed the company of the women in the harem and drew immense pleasure therein.[59]

The fondness for slave girls is further strengthened through another statement that the rebellion of Malik Taghi was a reason regarding the slave girl. The fact was that Malik Tatar became hostile to Malik Taghi, who was in Gujarat at that time and possessed an Arab horse and a Gujarati slave girl. And,

[57] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 234-235.
[58] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 399-400; Eng. tr., p. 223; Riaz ul-Islam, *The Age of Firuz Shah*, Medieval India Quarterly, vol. I, July, 1950, p. 40; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 90; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 207; K. A. Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Aligarh, 1956, p. 13; Tapan Rai Chaudhri and Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, Delhi, 2004, p. 90.
[59] Ibid, p. 400; Eng. tr., p. 223.

Malik Taghi rebelled against the desire of Malik Tatar to posses both the Gujarati slave girl and Arab horse.[60] It was also a practice of that period that nobles took large number of slave girls with them, even when they were on military expeditions. These slave girls would ride on horses and followed their masters.[61] Ibn Battuta in his *Rehla* confessed that he always kept his slave girls in his company whether or not he held any wife.[62]

On the other hand Imad ul-Mulk, the leading noble of Firuz Shah, had a very different attitude towards his slaves. Afif related the fact that when the said noble grew old, he sought his own release from Sultan (as he was the Slave noble of Sultan), and then released all his slaves numbering about four thousand. He even granted much wealth and gold to each of his domestic slave to live comfortably with freedom.[63]

Sultan Firuz Shah had deep interest in the collection of slaves that he issued a *farmān* to all muqtas for the collection of slaves. Thus every muqta, who came to attend the royal court, presented slaves to Sultan, according to his resources. Those who presented more slaves were more favoured by the Sultan. Muqtis selected the slaves to be presented and dressed them in attractive clothes, caps, socks and fine muslin cloth, around their waist. These slaves were presented with Arab and Turkish horses, numerous elephants, a variety of

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[60] Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 290.
[61] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 392-394; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 40; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 143; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 193.
[62] He says that the wives had to be divorced whenever he set out on long journeys, for they did not like to leave their native place; but the slave girls, who were charming companions, capable of inspiring genuine love and possessed distinctive qualities could be taken along easily. Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, p. xxv.
[63] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 444; Eng. tr., p. 243.

clothes, gold and silver vessels, weapons, camels and other beasts according to the resources of their respective *iqtas* by the muqtis every year.[64] Thus in this way, Sultan was extremely interested in collecting the slaves and made arrangements for their posting and training. Amir's attitude towards the slaves can be better judged by their behaviour that they brought up these slaves like their sons, arranged for their education, and training, food and drink and dress etc. After giving the training in etiquette (during their upbringing) they were presented before the Sultan. Amirs also narrated the details of the achievements of these slaves before gifting them to the Sultan. As a result Sultan was pleased and kind towards such amirs.[65]

As for the dinning manners, royal feasts as well as the royal processions were incomplete without the nobles. At the banquets, the manners were also prescribed. Ibn Battuta, *Qāzi* of the royal city Delhi, had attended and observed the royal feast. He narrates that the dining carpet was spread and dishes were put on it, before each person, but they have to wait (to start taking meal) for the signal from the *Hajib*, who called out *Bismillāh* loudly. Before the announcement, they paid homage to the Sultan in a prescribed manner. The *Hajib* (chamberlain) stood behind the dinning carpet, before the food was served and he did homage in the direction of wherever the Sultan may be and all those who were present at the banquet did the homage at the same time. Ibn Battuta describing the manner of homage says that it consisted in bending the head rather like 'the bowing of the prayers'. Thereafter, they started eating

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[64] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 268-269; Eng. tr., pp. 157-158.
[65] Ibid., pp. 271-273; Eng. tr., p. 159.

food, getting the signal of *bismillāh* loudly from the hajib. Again when meal was taken, *Hajib* called out *bismillāh*, whereupon they stand up and did homage as they did earlier and separated. This was the signal of the finishing the banquet.[66]

While at another place, Ibn Battuta and Shihabuddin al-Umari both referred two types of dinners: the private dinner and the public dinner, served at the royal palace.[67] Special Amirs like *Amir Hajib* (sultan's cousin and later Sultan Firuz Shah), Imad ul-Mulk Sartez and *Amir-i-Majlis* etc. attended the private dinner with the Sultan. While occasionally, when Sultan wanted to honour anyone, he took a plate, puts bread on it and gives it to him. On receiving the plate from Sultan, the said person had performed the prescribed etiquette, placed the plate on his left, and bowed his right hand touching the ground. Sultan also sent meal to one who was absent, that person too bowed like the one presented, and sits down to it along with those that be in his company.[68]

The public dinner at the royal palace was also observed in great detail by Ibn Battuta. It is said that public dinner was held in the Council Hall, and was brought by the Naqibs (chief palace officers) and his subordinates to the hall, who called out *Bismillāh*, and everyone who listened this call stood up from his seat, except the Sultan.[69] When the food was served at the carpet, Naqibs stood

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[66] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 607-608; I. H. Siddiqui, *Food Dishes and the Catering Profession in Pre-Mughal India*, Islamic Culture, vol. 59, no. 2, 1985, p. 124.

[67] Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 64; *Masalik*, Eng. tr, Spies, p. 33; *Masalik*, Eng. tr, Siddiqui, p. 120; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126.

[68] Ibid, p. 64; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 303.

[69] Palace officer was holding a golden mace while his subordinates carried the silver mace.

up in rows and their chief stood right in their front. The Chief *Naqibs* then began to praise the reigning Sultan and then bowed before him followed by his subordinate *Naqibs*. Same was done by all those who were present in the Council Hall. At the time when Chief Naqib was praising the Sultan, nobody was allowed to move or speak, until the address was over. Then the Naqibs and all presented persons bowed towards Sultan second time.[70]

One among the great *Umara* was appointed by the Sultan for all the arrangements like seating and feeding of the people. The names of the guests were recorded and the people were seated in the prescribed manner. Accordingly the seating arrangement was that the *Qazis*, *Khatibs*, *Shaikhs*, *Saiyyids* and other learned men sat at the head of the dinner carpet (*Simat*). These were followed by Sultan's relatives, great Amirs and other people. Then, before the dinner, *Shurbdār* (the cup bearers) brought the *Sherbet* (drink) in golden and silver vessels. When they drink it, the *Hajib* (chamberlain) called out *Bismillāh* and only then they start eating. They ate exclusively from their plates and did not share it. As the dinner was over, Chamberlain again called out *Bismillāh* and then betel leaves and nuts were offered. This time, whole presented people stood up and the supervising Amir bowed (kissed the ground). He was followed by all, and then only they dispersed.[71]

We get a lot of references from Ibn Battuta about the manners and etiquettes at the banquet. He gives us a passing reference about the meal served at the Palace of Sultan's mother Makhduma Jahan. He says that when they (he

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[70] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 65-66.

[71] Ibid., pp. 65-66; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p, 303; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126.

along with his companions) were waiting, they were instructed to sit down in an arcade of the palace. After it food was served in golden and silver vessels. Food was served in two tables, with two rows of guests at each table. Head of the groups presented at the meal sat at the head of each row. When they all went forward to the tables, the chamberlains and naqibs did homage, and same was done by them all. Sherbet was brought and drunken when only chamberlain called out *Bismillāh.* (The pattern was same as the royal dinner given by the Sultan at his palace). Then the meal followed with the betel leave was taken. Again *Bismillāh* was called out by the chamberlain followed by the homage paid by all.[72] These references are enough to show the hospitability as well as the etiquettes performed by the Tughluqid nobility at that time.

Furthermore the nobles, accompanying with the Sultan in his royal processions and their standards and other insignias, are also worth mentioning. There was pomp and show in the magnificent royal processions. It was customary for the Amirs to follow Sultan with their standards, drums, bugles, and hautboys. No one rode in front of the Sultan except the Chamberlains. On the left and right of the Sultan fifteen-fifteen persons, like amongst the Qazis, Wazirs, Amirs and foreigners rode.[73] Footmen and guides marched on his front and gold embroidered silk standards, drums (on camels) were behind him. Slaves, Amirs and camp-followers were also behind the Sultan.[74]

Emblems of royalty like trumpets, flags and other standards were adopted by the nobles. Even they were allowed to carry them and also their

[72] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 736-737.
[73] Ibn Battuta was Qazi of Delhi, so he rode on the left of the Sultan.
[74] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 36.

drums were allowed to be beaten at the time of marching.[75] When Ibn Battuta described the *ahāwra* or boat of Ala ul-Mulk, the governor, he also referred to his retinue, singers, bugles, trumpets, and drums and also flutes,[76] which were included among his *marātibs*. Thus, the description shows that how much the insignias were adopted by the nobles. The author of *Masalik* also refers to the standards of the Khans, Maliks and Amirs. As the black banners (with golden dragon) were reserved for the Sultan, the nobles were not allowed to carry them.[77] Thus, they carried the standards according to their ranks and status. Smallest number of banner, as stated by the author, carried by a Khan was nine and three by an Amir. A Khan could carry ten led-horses, while the Amir at least two. While on journey, they could carry as much as they could afford without any restriction.[78] All the khans and Maliks gathered round the Sultan during his expeditions with their standards.[79] Horsemen of Khans and Maliks also accompanied the Sultan in the time of need.[80] The detailed description of the royal procession on the occasions of two *Īds* comes from Ibn Battuta. He first referred to the grant of robes of honours to the Maliks, courtiers, foreigners, chief officials, Naqibs, Hajibs, Qazis and slaves on this occasion. On the *Īd* day Sultan rode on an elephant, adorned with gold, silk and precious jewels. Servants and slaves of Sultan marched infront of him, while Naqibs

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[75] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60-61, 252.

[76] Ibid., pp. 9-10; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 17-18.

[77] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, pp. 35-36; *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 122. Peacock feather was the emblem of the Tughluq dynasty. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 317; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 57-58; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Appendix-J, pp. 625-627

[78] Ibid., pp. 35-36; *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 122.

[79] About five thousand standards of Khans and Maliks were around Sultan Firuz Shah at the time of battle with Shamsuddin of Bengal. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 115; Eng. tr, p. 86.

[80] Ibid., p. 109; Eng. tr., p. 83. Here Afif says that about 70,000 horsemen accompanied Sultan Firuz Shah.

marched before him.[81] And, the Chief Qazi (Sadr-i-Jahan Kamaluddin Ghaznavi, Sadr-i-Jahan Nasiruddin Khwarizmi) and other Qazis and principal foreigners rode on elephant. Muezzins calling out '*Allah-o-Akbar*' too rode on elephant.[82]

Every Amir awaits Sultan standing outside the palace gate alongwith his trumpets, drums and flags. Wazirs and other prominent Amirs with their insignia and troops came behind the royal insignia of the Sultan.[83] After them some other Amirs also followed Sultan who, were never separated from the Sultan, rode in the company of Sultan on *Īd* day with their insignia and troops.[84] While other Amirs rode without their insignia. And, when Sultan reached the gate of the mosque, he ordered Qazis, the great Amirs and important foreigners to enter in it. Then only the prayer was offered.[85] Governor's procession as graphically described by Ibn Battuta is much interesting. Governor had fifteen ships with which he sailed down the river, carrying his baggage. One of these was a ship called *ahāwra* (which contains governor's cabin). In it governor's suite and slaves stood to his right and left, while crew also rowed. In these procession four ships (two rights and another two on left) accompany governor's *ahāwra*. Two of these ships carried

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[81] Slaves and servants wore golden cap, golden belt, studded with jewels. Naqibs wore gold fur cap and golden girdle round his waist, carrying a golden handled whip in his hand. Cf. Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 229.

[82] Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 229-230.

[83] Nobles like Mubarak Khan, Sultan's brother, Bahram khan entitled Tatar Khan, Malik Firuz Naib-i-Barbak, Wazir of Sultan, Malik Mujir Aburija, Malik Qabula etc. followed with their insignia and troops.

[84] These nobles were Malik Nukbiya, Chief *dawādar*, Malik Bughra, Malik Mukhlis, Malik Qutb ul-Mulk, governor of Multan, following Sultan with their insignia and troops, always on *Īd* days.

[85] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. III, pp. 663-666; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60-62.

governor's standards, kettledrums, trumpets and singers. On the whole way drums and trumpets were sounded and then musicians sang alternately.[86]

While the procession of Governor on land was as follows, that the drums and trumpets were sounded and his Hajibs took the lead. They were followed next by the foot soldiers, preceding the Governor himself. In front of the Hajib rode six horsemen, three of whom carried drums, slung round their necks and three with reed pipes. When they approached a village or an elevation in the ground, these six sounds their drums and reed pipes and was followed by the drums and trumpets of the main body of the procession. To the right and left of the Hajibs were the singers, who sang alternately.[87]

To conclude, there were elaborate rules of comportment that defined the interactions between the king and the nobility. These norms instilled feelings of loyalty and obedience among the latter for their rulers. They also shaped the noble's relations with their social inferiors, as well, establishing with them quite similar attitudes of difference and hierarchy.

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[86] For further details see, Gibb, *Ibn Battuta,* p. 186.
[87] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 602.

Chapter- 3

Feasts and Festivals

The feasts and banquets attended and hosted by the nobles were elaborate affairs, marked by extravagance and display. Nobles used to invite the dignitaries and other amirs at their residences for a feast.[1] The feast was an elaborate meal prepared for some special occasion and sometimes a formal dinner organized in honour of a person or to make a particular occasion. Ibn Battuta, Qazi of Delhi under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq attended several dinners at the royal court, as well as the residences of the nobles.[2] His detailed account of these feasts suggests that large kitchens were maintained by the Sultan and nobles, and a large amount was spent on these feasts. Ibn Battuta describes the rituals that were followed during formal meals. He tells us that when the guest finished eating, a cradle in the shape of container (with four legs and upper part woven of palm fiber) was placed in front of the honored guests. The dishes that were served on the tables included thin cakes of bread, roasted sheep, bread-cakes kneaded with ghee and filled with *Marzipan,* then covered with flour, pieces of sweetmeats in the shape of bricks, sweetmeat contained in small saucers of leather and *samusak,* a very popular dish of India at that time. The container having these dishes was covered with a decorated piece of cotton cloth. The food was served according to the rank of the guests.

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[1] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Tughlaq Kalin Bharat* (1320-1351 A.D.), Part I, Aligarh, 2007, p. 247. Ibn Battuta says that Malik Maqbul had given him a feast at his home.

[2] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 742, 747.

He further says that the persons below the highest ranks were served half of a sheep, called *Zallāh*, and half the amount of the other dishes. Those lower down the hierarchy were served equal of a quarter of all dishes.[3]

Further Ibn Battuta also furnishes the information regarding the two types of banquets at the royal palace. The Sultan invited the *Khans, Maliks,* and *Amirs* as well as other high dignitaries whomsoever he wished. Ibn Battuta, being the *Qazi* of Delhi, was present many times at this private banquet of Sultan and noticed that the persons attending it were about twenty in numbers. The food was served in a large hall, in the company of those who were invited for a feast by the Sultan. These nobles were, *amirs* of household, *Amir-i-Hajib, Malik* Imad-ul-Mulk Sartez, and *Amir-i-Majlis* etc. If the Sultan wished to favour or honour a noble or great amir, he invited that person to this royal banquet.[4] Ibn Battuta, Shihabuddin al-Umari and Al-Qalqashandi referred to these two kinds of royal feasts, attended by *Maliks, Khans, Amirs* and other dignitaries.[5]

The first type was known as 'Private meal' of the Sultan, and the second type of feast, as described by Ibn Battuta was a 'Public meal'. It was organized with great planning and care. The food from the royal kitchen was brought out

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[3] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, vol. iii, pp. 435-437; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 144.

[4] Ibid., p. 669; Sometimes Sultan wished to honour one of those present, he took a plate in his hand, and put piece of bread in it and gave it to him. And, the person who received it, paid homage to the Sultan, with prescribed etiquettes. While sometimes, Sultan sends a portion of meal to a person who was absent from the hall, recipient does homage on receiving it. See, Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, pp. 302-303; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 227-228; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126.

[5] *Masalik*, Eng. tr. Siddiqui, p. 120; Spies, *Arab Account*, p. 72.

and the *naqibs* carried it carrying out *Bismillāh* loudly.[6] When they entered the hall, all the persons who were present, stood up, except for the Sultan. The *amir* of *naqibs* would deliver a speech, praising the Sultan and he paid his homage, bowing down before the Sultan in obeisance. All *naqbis* and all other officials, who were present in audience hall, did the same. During the speech of the *amir* of naqibs, nobody was allowed to move and all stood up at their respective places. After him, another speech was given by his deputy (*naib*) and he then paid his respects, followed with all the assemble people doing the same a second time. Thereafter, a written report regarding the arrival of the food was placed before the Sultan, who then appointed a leading *amir* to supervise this feast and to distribute food to all of them.[7]

Several kinds of dishes were served like thin rounds of bread, roasted meat, round cakes in portions and filled with sweet confections, rice, chickens and *samusak*. *Qazis*, *khatibs*, *hakims*, *Sharifs* and principal *amirs* were assigned privileged places at this banquet, after them comes the rest of the people. A place was reserved for every person, just to avoid pushing and elbowing between them. When all the guests sat down, the *Shurbadār* (cup-bearers) brought candy-water in golden, silver and brass vessels. It was drunk before eating the food after pronouncement of *Bismilālh* by the Chamberlains (*Hajib*). A set containing some portion of above mentioned dishes was placed before each person. No one shared from the plate of another person. *fuqqā* or barely-

[6] Head of *naqibs* walked infront of them carrying a golden mace, while his deputy, holding silver mace, followed him.

[7] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 669-670; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75.

water was brought which was drunk when Chamberlain called out *Bismillāh* after finishing the food. Then betel and areca nuts were distributed on the trays. Thereupon all stood up. Principal *amir* who was supervising the feast did homage and all persons did the same and thereafter they left the hall.[8]

Another feast was also described by Ibn Battuta, when he was on journey with other companions. He informs that once he was present in a meal, which was prepared for Khudawandzadah Qewwamuddin. He observed and recorded the order at this feast in much detail. The dishes that were served before each person were a thin round cake or bread, the roasted meat cutting into four or six pieces, and a piece was put before each person. Another dish that was served was round dough cakes, made with ghee, which was stuffed with a kind of sweet called *Sābuniya* on top of this dough cake. A sweet cake called *Khisht* was prepared with flour, sugar and ghee. Then, meat cooked with ghee, onions and green ginger was served in large ceramic bowls. Then four or six pieces of another dish called *Samusak*[9] were served to all. *Hāshimi,* a dish of rice, cooked in ghee with Chicken was also served. Before the meals were served, the Chamberlain stood beside up and paid homage in the direction of the Sultan and all the guests did the same. Thereafter, they sat down for the food. As described earlier *Sherbet* (drink) was served in golden, silver and glass vessels, before the meal. The Chamberlain called out *Bismilālh,* signaling

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[8] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 669-671; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, pp. 302-303; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 227-228; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126.

[9] *Samusak* was prepared with hashed meat and cooked with almonds, walnuts, pistachios, onions and spices, put inside a piece of thin bread, then it was fried in ghee. See, Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 607-608.

them to start eating. After finishing the food, barely-water and areca nuts were served, as this was the customary practice of that period. When this was taken, *Bismillāh* was called loudly by the chamberlains, and all the guests stood up from their respective places and paid the homage and then they withdrew from the place.[10]

Ibn Battuta says that when he alongwith the *Wazir* and his companions reached the palace of Sultan's mother, after offering prescribed etiquettes of paying respect and after presenting gifts, they were commanded to sit down in an arcade of the palace. After that, food was served for them in golden vessels, called *Suyuns* and *Subuks*. Food was set out in two rows of two tables, principal of the persons present was sitting at the head of each row. When they went forward to the tables, homage was paid by chamberlains and *Naqibs*. Then they also did the same. Here too, *Sherbet* (drink) was brought and was drunk. Then chamberlain called out *Bismillāh* and then they start eating. After food, barley-water, another kind of drink, and then betel leaves were served. The chamberlain again called out *Bismillāh* and they paid their homage. After the food was served they were all given silken robes of honour and other gifts.[11]

During one of the voyages of Ibn Battuta when he was accompanied with the governor of Sindh, Ala-ul-Mulk, meals were served to them, accompanied with music and songs.[12]

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[10] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 607-608; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, pp. 124-125.

[11] Ibid., pp. 736-737.

[12] Ibid., pp. 601-602.

The feast was a prominent aspect of the socio-cultural life of the Tughluqid nobles. The Sultan held feasts at several occasions and nobles, *(Maliks, Khans, Qazis)* officials and other dignitaries attended these feasts with great excitement. These feasts were lavish, and a huge amount was spent on them. Numerous kinds of rich dishes were served in a prescribed manner. Some kind of drink was offered before the meal and after the meal some other drink, betel and nuts were offered to the guests. The dishes were served according to the ranks and the positions of the invited guests.

Festivals like *Īds, Shab-i-Barat,* and *Nauroz* etc., were also celebrated with great zeal and excitement. Ibn Battuta wrote that he had distributed food consisting of a hundred maunds of flour and another hundred maunds of meat to feed the poor and distributes it on the occasion of great festivals such as both of the *Īds,* birthday of the Prophet, on the day of *Ashura* (10th of *Muharram*), the night of mid-Sha'ban, and the death anniversary of Sultan Qutbuddin (Khalji).[13]

The Sultan publicly organized the celebration of these festivals (*Īd, Shab-i-Barat,* and *Nauroz*), on a large scale and all the *Khans, Maliks* and *Amirs* alongwith other officials attended the festivities on these days.[14] Afif describes the celebration and festivities organized on the day of *Īd* in much detail. On the day before *Īd*, the preparation started for its celebration. Sultan himself supervised the preparations for the celebration, and even asked his

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[13] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 142-143; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 761.

[14] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 360-366; Eng. tr., pp. 203-205.

nobles regarding their preparation for the day of *Īd.*[15] Thus the festivals were celebrated in a very magnificent and splendid manner with the lavish decoration.[16] Afif also referred to the profuse decoration on this occasion of festivity at the royal palace of Firuzabad and attendance of nobles and others at the court. In the central courtyard *(Mahal-i-Pāsheb) Darbar-i-Aam* was arranged. Two wooden doors were erected and plant pots were placed near the courtyard on the day of the session. Some of the artificial plants were decorated with silken soft linen, or white cloth resembling silver or gold. Wax and flowers were also used for decoration. Genuine plants were also placed side by side. The walls of Central Courtyard were covered with silk cloth hangings. Carpets were spread out on the whole ground floor. Dry fruits as well as ripe fruits were placed there. The Sultan held the audience in the middle hour and Malik Ibrahim Naib Barbak came out. First of all swordsman were ushered in, thereafter twenty one canopies of different colours like red, green, multi coloured, black, white, pink, grey, milky white, woven golden etc. were placed on the right and left sides; ten on left and ten of right and one on the head of the Sultan. After it the royal standards were brought in.[17]

On the occasion of *Īd,* all the prized, elegant and ornamented standards were displayed before the Sultan, while standards of horsemen were not allowed to be brought in that day. Afterwards, the horses of royal stables, duly decorated with silver saddles were presented. Similarly the royal elephants

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[15] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 361; Eng.tr., p. 203

[16] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 666; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 147.

[17] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 361-362.

fully decorated alongwith their seat stands, having multi coloured hangings, were brought in. The elephants offered salutations after performing *Sijda* (touching the ground) and howled in felicitations to the Sultan. After these salutations, they took their positions in the right and left wings. The hunted animals and birds were presented by the officials of the hunting house.[18]

While at the audience hall, all the *Khan, Amirs* etc. paid respect to Sultan, during festivities. After them, the officials of *Diwān-i-Rasālat, Diwān-i-Qazā, Diwan-i-Wazārat* and lastly *Diwān-i-Arz* respectively along with their subordinates paid respect to the Sultan and reached their respective seats. When Sultan departed for the *Īd* prayer, all the Khans, *Maliks* and *Amirs* also accompanied the royal procession.[19] They were awarded robes of honour on the occasion.[20] Thus the audience hall was fully embellished and put in order. On this occasion, musicians (*Qawwāl*), dancers and singers were part of these festivities and entertained all.[21] With the conclusion of festival, they were also rewarded by the Sultan.[22]

Ibn Battuta also gives us interesting information about the celebration of *Īd* at the capital during the absence of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. He says that on that day, *Khātib* (Orators) mounted on an elephant and *Muezzins* rode before him, also mounted on elephants, calling out *Allāh-o-Akbar*. While others

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[18] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 362-363.

[19] Ibid., p. 364.

[20] Ibid., p. 365; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 60.

[21] Ibid., p. 363; Eng. tr. pp. 203-205. He says that singers worn saffron coloured dresses with red turbans on their heads, while the dancers wore embroidered and ornamental robes valued at forty thousand tankas each.

[22] Ibid., p. 365.

were on horse back distributing charity on their way to the place of prayer. After the congregational prayer and sermon was over, he returned to the royal palace. And here a dinner was served which was attended by *Maliks, Amirs* and foreigners.[23]

Nobles also celebrated festivals with the Sultan, and we again get the vivid description of that occasion. Sultan send robes to all his *amirs, Maliks,* Khans etc., other courtiers, notables and officials in the night preceding the *Īd.*[24] On the morning of *Īd,* royal elephants were adorned with silk, gold and jewels. These were reserved only for the Sultan. In front of him, his well dressed slaves and *nāqibs* marched. *Sadr-i-Jahān* (Chief Justice) Kamaluddin of Ghazna, *Sadr-i-Jahan* Nasiruddin of Khwarizm and other Judges and prominent persons rode on elephants, called out loudly *Allāh-o-Akbar.* The *amirs* with their especial detachment holding their trumpets and flags stood in attendance outside the palace. Nobles like Mubarak Khan, Bahram Khan, Malik Firuz, Wazir of Sultan, Malik Mujir and Malik Qabula followed Sultan respectively with their insignias and troops. Then other nobles like Malik Nukbia, Malik Bughra, Malik Mukhlis and Malik Qutbul-Mulk came with their insignias. Great *amirs* rode in the company of Sultan on this occasion and these were the nobles, who never separated from his company. Some others were following Sultan without their insignia and troops. When they all reached the place of prayer, all great *amirs, Qazis* (Judges) and *'aizza* (Foreigners) were

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[23] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 124-125.
[24] Ibid., p. 60; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 122; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 202.

ordered to enter. Then, the prayer and sermon was held.[25]

After the royal procession on the occasion of *Īd,* the *Īd darbar* was also held. On the occasion, the council hall was lavishly decorated. On the occasion, the *Qazis* (Judges), *Saiyids, Mashaikhs,* Sultan's brothers and relatives, foreigners, wazirs, military officials and senior slaves as well as the commanders of the troops presented in the council hall saluted the Sultan respectively. When this greeting was over, dinner was served to all according to their ranks. Huge arrangements were made for the purpose and huge censors were also prepared for the occasion. Three high ranking amirs, Malik Imad-ul-Mulk Sartez, Malik Nukbia, and Yusuf Bughra stood up at three different gates. While others stood up according to their respective ranks. Malik Taghi, *Shahna-i-Bārgāh* (Prefect of the Palace) holding in his hand a gold staff, his deputy having silver staff, stood in rows. *Wazir* and secretaries stood behind the deputy, as the chamberlains and the palace officers. Musicians, dancers and singers presented themselves in the court for their performances. Even Sultan manumitted the slaves and married them with other slaves.[26] Thus, *Maliks, Amirs* and other high dignitaries attended this festivity on the occasion of *Īd,* at the council hall of the Sultan.

Besides the two *Īds,* festivals like *Shab-i-Barat,* and *Nauroz* were also celebrated with great éclat, in the court. It was believed that with the beginning of the month of *Sh'aban,* the arrangements for the celebration and fire works

[25] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 60-61; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 122; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 202.
[26] Ibid., pp. 62-63.

were ordered by the Sultan. Fire works for the nights were gathered in huge quantity. Four temporary structures (*alang*) were constructed under the names of *Alang-i-Khāss* (rescues for the Sutan), *Alang-i-Malik Naib Bārbak, Alang-i-Malik Ali*, and *Alang-i-Malik Yāqub.* On all these structures drums and bands were brought in, and the entire ground was so well-illuminated that it looked like a bright day with large numbers of earthen lamps and flames *(mashāl).* Lamps and flames were placed in the boats. Drums were beaten and bands were played for three nights of the 13th, 14th and 15th Sha'ban, on the occasion of *Shab-i-Barat.* Several kinds of crackers and fireworks were set off. Nobles, officials, commoners and other people come to see the fireworks and lightening at Firuzabad palace. Princes, *Khans* and *Maliks* were all time present in this festivity.[27] Thus, the festival was celebrated with great pomp and show. A modern scholar has argued that this festival was copied from the Hindu festival of *Shiva-rātri,* considering that night vigil and fireworks were common to both.[28]

About *Muharram*, Ibn Battuta says that on the tenth of *Muharram*, he distributed a hundred maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat to the poor. Food was offered to bless the soul of Hazrat Imam Husain.[29] On this occasion people celebrated the mourning anniversary of the martyred grandson of the Prophet by throwing black dust on their heads and putting on a black robe of

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[27]Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 365-366, Eng. tr., pp. 205-206, Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 165.

[28] Yusuf Husian Khan, *Social and Economic Conditions in Medieval India*, Islamic Culture, January 1956, vol. 30, Hyderabad, p. 7.

[29] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 142-143; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 121

lamentations.[30]

Spring festival *Nauroz* was also celebrated with great gaiety and mirth. A pavalion was constructed and singers and poets participated in its festivity. *Khans, Maliks* all nobles and officials participated in it.[31] Tha great care was taken for the celebration of *Nauroz.*[32]

To conclude, feasts and festivals were a restive feature of the court culture in the Tughluq period. These events were celebrated with great gaiety and were sources of fun and entertainment for the ruling classes. At the same time, they also served to strengthen the bonds between the rulers and the ruling aristocracy, bringing them together though display and entertainment. While doing so, the rituals and ceremonies that were followed on these occasions legitimated imperial authority and reinforced the hierarchies in the court culture.

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[30] S.H. Askari, *Historical value of Basātin-ul-Uns*, Journal of Bihar Research Society, vol. XLVIII, Sec. II, 1962, p. 7.

[31] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 201; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 124.

[32] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 124.

Chapter- 4

Games and Entertainment

The Tughluqid nobles lived a very luxurious life on account of their ranks and positions as well as their financial stability. Various kinds of games, both indoor and outdoor, were important sources for recreation and amusement for them. *Chaughan*, hunting and chess were known games of the period. Besides games, music was also a great source of recreation, entertainment and relaxation for them.[1] However, we get references regarding singers and musical instruments.

Hunting was the most popular source of aristocratic entertainment and was encouraged by the Sultans. Sultan Firuz Shah was known for his deep interest and passion for hunting,[2] and had a separate department for hunting which according to Barani was far more active under Firuz Shah, than any other previous Sultan.[3] Malik Dilan was the Chief of Hunting Department, called *Amir-i-Shikār*, while Malik Khizr Bahram was his deputy (*naib*). These officials of hunting department were included in the category of great nobles. Afif says that every noble worked hard to maintain the hunting establishment and all the amirs performed their duties faithfully because of the fact that

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[1] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 203. *Chaughan* was played on horseback with a stick or club and balls.

[2] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 599-600; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 79-80, 178, 316.

[3] Ibid., p. 600; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 318; K.P. Sahu, *Hunting as a Pastime During the Turko-Afghan Period*, Journal of Historical Research, Vol. XIII, August 15, 1970, Ranchi, p. 40.

Sultan was extremely interested in the game of hunting.[4] Thus, all the officials of this department were included in the category of great nobles, and they hoped to pass their life in that effort.[5]

All the Khans, Maliks and Amirs accompanied Sultan during his hunting campaigns.[6] We get important references, regarding the nobles, who participated enthusiastically in the hunting expeditions of Sultan with all the necessary requirements.[7] In all hunting expeditions they used to carry their tents and canopies and a big crowd of porters and attendants.[8] Even some of the Khans and Maliks would carry water on the camels, horses and some would engage water carriers.[9]

Isami says that once the Sultan went out for hunting expedition followed along with all his great nobles. He refers to the names of some of nobles accompanying him, like Nasiruddin (who came from Lakhnauti), Tatar Khan, Malik Safdar, Malik Hoshang, Lala Bahadur, Lala Karana, *Sar-i-dawatdar* of Sultan, and other officials like Malik Shadi Satlia, Malik Maqbul, Malik Naib Barbak, Malik Mukhlis-ul- Mulk, Malik Daulat Shah Butmari and Malik Taghi.[10] Thus, important nobles and the court officials accompanied Sultan in

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[4] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 318; Sahu, *Hunting as a Pastime*, p. 41.

[5] Ibid., p. 318.

[6] Sahu, *Hunting as a Pastime*, p. 41.

[7] For further details, see, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 318, 320, 322-323, 325; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 752-755; Ross E Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 201; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 435; Eng. tr., Vol. III, pp. 663-664.

[8] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 752-755.

[9] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 320; Eng. tr. p. 182; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 102.

[10] Isami, *Futuh*, p. 435; Eng. tr., pp. 663-664.

hunting campaigns.

The nobles and other officials who accompanied Sultan during his hunting campaigns were quipped with all necessities and participated in it with great zeal. Ibn Battuta, who accompanied Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq during his hunting campaign, provides us with much information. He goes on to describe that he went along with the Sultan with all requirements according to the tradition of the period. He brought with him his own *Sarācha* or tent. As a prescribed norm, no one was allowed to pitch his tent before the royal tent. The tents of the nobles and high officials were white in colour, embroidered with blue, while Sultan's tent was red in colour. Ibn Battuta also referred to a *Siwān*,[11] another kind of tent, and *Kahars* to carry him in a *dulā* (palanquin), *farrāshes* (to erect the tents and furnish it with carpets etc.) and *dawadāwiya* to walk ahead of him carrying torches at night. With all these necessities and enthusiasm, the Wazir, grand *Qāzi*, leading amirs and other honourable joined the Sultan for the hunting expedition. The nobles Imad-ul-Mulk and Malik Daulat Shah were accompanied the Sultanin the hunting campaign. Other nobles were Malik Sabih and Nasiruddin Muthhar al-Awhari.[12] All these were with their ceremonial honours such as standards, drums, bugles, flutes and other *marātibs*. Wherever the procession was encamped, Sultan invited chosen

[11] A tent under which one shelters inside the *Sarācha*, it is supported upon two stout poles and the whole thing is carried on shoulders by *Kaiwaniya*. For further details, see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 752-753.

[12] Ibid., p. 755.

one to take food with him.[13]

Besides Ibn Battuta, Afif also refers to, the hunting hobby of Sultan Firuz Shah in much detail.[14] Special attention was paid by the Sultan to erect a ring of hunters encircling the hunt. It was prepared carefully and was dismantled after hunting. Sometimes it continued for seven or eight days.[15] During this encircling, horsemen with young and swift-horses were ordered to accompany the Sultan. Numerous animals were encircled from mourning to evening and were hunted at night.[16] Animals like onagers or wild asses were hunted here, besides other animals.

Furthermore, Afif describes that the hunt of deers, antelopes and wild asses through encircling them by Firuz Shah accompanied with the nobles and officials. Before encircling, drums (indicating the time) were not beaten. Then Sultan marched from his tent with army, horsemen, foot-soldiers and slaves. A high-spot was prepared for the stay of Sultan and the horsemen were ordered to go down the hunting circle. Nobles enthusiastically participated in the hunting circle. Malik Naib Barbak, a prominent noble of the Sultan, was posted to lead the horsemen towards the hunting circle from one direction, while the horsemen were led by Malik Imad-ul-Mulk from other direction. Behind these amirs, royal standards were also stationed for the hunt. Thereupon Afif says that the hunting lines were drawn by the troops and behind them marched the

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[13] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 752-754; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 102.

[14] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 79-80, 178, 315-329.

[15] Ibid., pp. 318-319; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 103.

[16] Ibid., pp. 319-320.

chiefs of respective contingents. Following horsemen, some selected slaves were ordered to be in line, and then they too advanced for the hunting. The officials of the royal stable along with the horse also ordered to march in the direction of encirclement. In the same way, elephants were released. Fire was put on to cause heavy smoke that showed the completion of encirclement for hunting the animals. On getting this indication, Sultan commanded horsemen to go near the circle carefully so that the animals could not get out of the hunting ring. Subsequently, the hunting ring was narrowed down and the horsemen folded themselves in three lines successively. The encirclement covered the area over three to four *kos*. Then, with the end of the night and coming of the dawn, a very close circle of tents, similar to hunting circle was created. In that way, there were hunting circle, circle of tents, and another circle of wooden structures infront of circle of tents. Thus, the encirclement was accomplished with all the arrangements accordingly. The animals like lions, wolves and tigers were find out besides paying attention to other animals within the circle. Sultan chased them primarily and all the chiefs helped him with great caution along with their archers.[17] The chiefs of all the horsemen were directed by the Sultan to remain alert in their respective position. They were also ordered not to move towards royal tent. Thus, according to the royal order, they remained alert and ready in their respective positions along with their archers.[18] Thousands of animals were captured during this encirclement. Sultan rode and chased animals everyday along with horsemen (numbering five to six hundred),

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[17] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 325.

[18] Thus, hunting circle had one more circle of archers. Ibid.

princes, khans, and Maliks. Then, Sultan entered the hunting circle and chased the animals with his arrows. Afif, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was along with the Sultan.[19] Thus, he says that whenever the animal was hunted with arrow by the Sultan, it was handed over to the *amir*, who slaughtered them. The hunting expedition continued for almost a week.[20]

When the Sultan decided to dismantle the encirclement, fire or burning arrows were thrown into the hunting circle. At this moment, the drums and clarions were beaten. After hearing the beating of drums, troopers entered the hunting circle and chased the remaining animals as more as possible.[21] When the hunting was over, the hunting ring was immediately dismantled and it was again created whenever Sultan decided to hunt. In brief, every year hunting expedition took place and three to four hunting circles were created for the purpose.[22]

Nearly all kind of animals like, Onagers wild ass (*Gorkhar*), deers, antelopes, lions, wolves, wild buffaloes were hunted and the trained animals (like hunt birds, elephants, etc.) were used for trapping the hunt. While the tiger or lynx were used for hunting the four-footed animals. Sometimes animals like lions were trapped through the net even the elephants were also used to hunt

[19] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 321-322.

[20] Ibid., pp.321-326.

[21] Afif gives details, that 'every palanquin bearer and chafing dish bearer employed in the royal army would hasten to capture the animals and ensure that he too got something. So much meat was available during the course of hunting and in the hunting ring that sometimes its foul smell spread all around. Some of the soldiers carried the meat to Delhi after necessary drying and balming and wrapping in cumin seed. Cf. Ibid., p.326.

[22] Ibid., p. 326.

them.[23]

Likewise Afif gives details regarding the hunting of elephants by Sultan Firuz Shah accompanied with Maliks, Khans, courtiers and army men. The forest was surrounded by nobles and army men from all the four sides by the order of Sultan. It was known that elephants were located about fifteen *kos* inside the forest. A circle of wood was raised all along the forest camp and all the ground was sealed with mud leaving two exit routes. Sultan inspected this wooden circle everyday. Few blood-thirsty elephants and their *Mahawats* (drivers) were ordered to enter the forest from one side, while the band-masters and drum beaters were sent into the forest from another side to make excessive noise and alarm through beating of drum and bands. The elephants came out of their hiding places and ran towards the forest.[24] When the troopers beat the drums loudly, the wild elephants reached at the end of forest near the wooden circle. Elephants ran from one end to the other till they were badly exhausted within a few days. During this chase, no fodder was made available to elephants. The brave *Mahawats* (elephant drivers) jumped over the backs of elephants and tamed them. In that way the elephants were hunted down and captured.[25]

Thus, generally all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs engaged themselves in hunting with all their horsemen and other requirements. It was perhaps because

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[23] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 325-329.

[24] Afif says that the elephants were so mighty that during their flight several trees of the forest were uprooted or fell down. See. Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[25] Ibid., pp. 167-169.

of Sultan's deep interest in this game that the nobles not only participated with great zeal, but also enjoyed great position and ranks in the Hunting department. As Barani says that *Amir-i-Shikār* enjoyed much high position and respect that was not expected earlier.[26]

Besides hunting there were other sources of amusements as well the practices of sensuality, drunkenness, prostitution and night revelry. Soldiers, officials and nobles indulged in such practices. *Basātin-ul-Uns* of Ikhtisan Dabir refers to the beautiful maidens bearing wine cups and wearing transparent garments offered wine of pleasure and sensuality and made them intoxicated.[27] Apart from that, there were gardens, mango-groves, and public-tanks which were utilized for amusements and relaxation. Musicians and dancers also entertained them.[28] Story telling was another important source of entertainment. It is said that Ikhtisan, *Dabir* of the Sultan was in company of Sultan in his eastern (Tirhut) expedition, who on account of heat and hardship fell ill on his return journey. During his prolonged illness, an Indian tale was brought for his amusement.[29] Another kind of amusement was also recorded by Ibn Battuta. It included a horse dance, in which the horse wearing gold ankles and brocaded silk reins and tiara danced to the tune of songs. Ibn Battuta

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[26] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 600

[27] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 207; Askari, *Historical Value*, p. 20.

[28] Ibid., p. 204.

[29] Askari, *Historical Value*, p. 5; I.H. Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History of Tughluq Sultans in the Basātin-ul-Uns*, in *Perso Arabic Sources of information on the Life and Culture of Delhi Sultanate*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 96-97.

witnessed this kind of dance at the royal palaces, which highly amused him.[30]

Music was also source of entertainment and amusement among the nobility. In sources we find references of musicians and singers. Since *Sharia* did not permit music, it was banned by Sultan Ghyasuddin during his rule.[31] But music was played and songs were sung at the court of his successor Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq,[32] and Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq.[33] Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had appointed an honourable official Amir Shamsuddin Tabrizi at the post of *Daroghā-i-Arbāb Nishāt* (*Amir-ul-Mutribin*), whose duty was to supervise musical concerts at the royal palace and the court. Both male and female musicians and singers participated in these musical assemblies and entertainments.[34] Occasionally *nautch* party (dance and music party) was also held accompanied with music, at the court.[35] A painting, preserved in the Calcutta Art Gallery, depict the scene of *nautch* party in the curt off Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.[36] Ibn Battuta also referred to the music party and that of the singers at the marriage ceremony of Amir Saifuddin Gaddāh with Sultan's sister.[37] Sultan's love of music resulted in the promotion

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[30] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. xxxii.

[31] Ferishta, *Tarikh*, Vol. II, p. 397; Prof. Dharma Bhanu, *Promotion of Music by Turko-Afghan Rulers of India*, Islamic Culture, Vol. 29, no. 1, 1955, p. 18.

[32] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 78, (Shamsuddin Tabriz appointed as head musician *amir-ul-mutribin*); Dharma Bhanu, *Promotion of Music*, p. 19.

[33] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 363-365.

[34] Ibid., pp. 78-80; Dharma Bhanu, *Promotion of Music*, p. 19; S.N. Haider Rizvi, *Music in Medieval India*, Islamic Culture, Vol. XV, no. 1, July 1941, p. 335.

[35] Dharma Bhanu, *Promotion of Music*, p. 19.

[36] E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Delhi, 1980, p. 195; I.H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1942, p. 177.

[37] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 78-80.

of the son of a musician to a high post which was disapproved by Barani considering it as his action to encourage the low born person.[38]

Following Sultan's path, the nobles also contributed much in the enrichment of Indian music.[39] The compilation of a work, namely *Ghunyat-ul-Munyā* based on Indian music by an anonymous author under the patronage of a prominent Tughluqid noble Malik Shamsuddin Aburija, the governor of Gujarat,[40] is a proof of the noble's contribution in the field of Indian music. The author, in the preface of the work, informs us that whenever his patron noble Malik Shamsuddin Aburija, felt the strain of hard work, he found relaxation in listening to the Persian Sama and Hindavi *Sarod*.[41] Thus *Samā* and *Sarod* were popular among the nobility of that period.

Thus, music was enjoyed by the Sultan and his nobility at several occasions. On the accession of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq music was played and songs were sung.[42] On receiving good news from a messenger, Sultan ordered beating of drums and music was played for many days.[43] Furthermore, after the victory over Kishli Khan, on the arrival of Sultan at Delhi, music was played, drums were beaten, bugles and flutes were blowing,

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[38] Rizvi, *Music*, p. 335. Cf. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 505. According to Barani, Najba son of a musician was promoted much above the all other Maliks and awarded him the *iqta* of Gujarat, Multan and Badaon.

[39] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 120.

[40] See the preface of the work, by Anonymous, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya (the earliest known Persian work on Indian music)*, ed. Shahab Sarmadee, Aligarh, 1978. Rotograph is preserved in Seminar Library, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.

[41] Ibid., p. 3.

[42] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 434; Eng. tr, Vol. III, pp. 662-663.

[43] Ibid., p. 444; Eng. tr. p. 673.

that continued for several days.[44] At another place, we get references about the court held on the occasion of *Īd* and the participation of musicians, singers both male and female as well as the dancers. Nobles were also presented at this audience. The musicians, who sung and dance, were presented away to the amirs and foreigners by the Sultan.[45] Under his successor Sultan, Firuz Shah, during the festivities on the occasion of *Īd*, Singers and dancers were presented. The *Qawwāls* (singers) wore saffron coloured dresses with red turbans on their heads, while the dresses of dancers were embroidered and ornamental, valued about forty thousand tankas.[46] They were richly rewarded on the end of the festivities.[47]

The prevalent musical instruments were the *Chang*, *Rabāb*, *Nai*, *Daff*, *Ud*, *Jalājil* and *Kamāncha*.[48] Thus, music was a source of recreation for the nobles. Ibn Battuta describes the voyage of Amir Alaul-Mulk, governor of Lahari, that the ships carried necessary musical instruments with musicians and singers.[49] The musical instruments such as drums, bugles, flutes and trumpets were the *Marātibs* (insignia) of the said Amir. When Amir Ala-ul-Mulk took his meal, music in the form of orchestra was played with different types of musical instruments. While the group singers sang in chorus. The drums were beaten by turns and trumpets were blown, then the singers sung. All it

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[44] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 445; Eng. tr, p. 674.

[45] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, p. Li, p. 63.

[46] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 363.

[47] Ibid., p. 365.

[48] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 115; Askari, *Historical Value*, p. 21.

[49] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, pp. Li, 9-10; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 120.

continued till the *amir* finished meal.[50]

Ibn Battuta, *Qazi* of Delhi, was also fond of music and liked to travel in the company of singers. The singers used to entertain him with music on his way from Amroha to Delhi. There were two accomplished singers who used to sing for him on his whole journey. When he reached Bijnaur, he also included three other brothers in his company who were singers. All these singers sang for him on his way.[51] Likewise the singers and musicians accompanied governors while they travelled through ships. But whenever the governor travelled through land, the drums and trumpets were around and the *Hajibs* led the procession. Some horsemen carried drums slung round their necks and some with reed pipes. Whenever the governor proceeded through a village, drums, flutes or reed pipes and trumpets were blown and singers sang alternately.[52] Thus the musical instruments and singers accompanied the nobles whenever they wished and wherever they travelled.

As far as the music in the marriage party of Amir Saifuddin is concerned, both male and female singers and dancers were accompanied with Shamsuddin Tabrizi, the head musician (*Amir-ul-Mutribin*). Later, when henna was applied to the hands and feet of Amir, there was both singing and dancing. Female musicians brought several kinds of musical instruments in the courtyard. When female singers sung songs, drums were beaten; bugles and flutes were blown outside the gate of the palace. In the end, various kind of silk

[50] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla* p. 9; *Rashid, Society and Culture*, p. 120.

[51] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 762; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 120.

[52] Ibid., p. 602.

robes and purses were presented to these musicians.[53]

Musician used to be presented at the royal court of Firuz Shah on every Friday for their performances. They were given huge rewards by Sultan. Once the court officials suggested Sultan Firuz Shah for some distinction and difference between the old and young recipients among the musicians.[54] However, the idea was rejected by Firuz Shah. Since the musicians were attached to the royal court and got rewards from the Sultan, the nobles and officials also patronized them and even liked the company of musicians and singers at several ceremonies, at their courts and even in their journey. Musical instruments like drums, flutes, trumpets and bugles also consisted among their *marātibs* (standards). The compilation of a work based on Indian music, *Ghunyat-ul-Munyā,* emerges as best example for nobles patronage and deep interest in music. This work also offered a glimpse of the understanding of the essentials and the fundamentals of music among the nobility of that time.[55]

[53] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 78-80.

[54] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 367-369.

[55] Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munyā*, p. 3.

Chapter-5

Household and Domestic Life

In the Sultanate period the nobles enjoyed a comfortable and luxurious life. They were the aristocratic people, holding high ranks and titles like *Maliks, Amirs* and *Khans*. All kinds of comforts were enjoyed by them. Their houses, attire, food etc, were aristocratic, indicating their rank and status.

Wherever a city was founded by the Sultan, the nobles and officials started residing there and built their mansions. References refer to the foundation of the cities like *Tughluqabad,*[1] *Firuzabad,*[2] *Hissār Firuzah*[3] and *Daulatabad,*[4] where leading *Maliks* and *Amirs* settled down. Regarding Hissar Firuzah, Afif says that a portion of the projected city was allotted to the *amirs* by the Sultan, where every noble started building their beautiful and majestic houses.[5] However at every important town, the provincial officials, the *Khans, Maliks* and *Amirs* erected their palaces and mansions.[6] Similarly, regarding the Koshak-i-Shikar, he says that all the Maliks and Khans of the Sultan built their palaces and buildings there.[7]

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1 Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 450; Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historian*, vol. III, Delhi, 2001, p. 234.

2 Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 134; Eng. tr., p. 96; Muhammad Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Eng. tr. Muhammad Zaki, Aligarh, 1972, p. 10; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuzshah*, p. 126.

3 Ibid., p. 126; Eng. tr., p. 91.

4 Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 458; Eng. tr, Vol. III, pp. 690-91.

5 Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 126, 128; Eng. tr., pp. 91-92.

6 Ibid, p. 313; Eng. tr., p. 179.

7 Ibid., p. 313

A Sanskrit inscription of Firuz Shah's reign throws significant light on a residential quarter. Most of the houses were double-storied. The plan of the houses is much the same as that of old styled houses of those days. Each house consisted of one or two *dālans* or small halls, with small rooms on sides and an open courtyard in front bounded by a wall. Sometimes, the courtyard had the *dalāns* on all the four sides.[8] A fourteenth century Arab writer Shihabuddin al-Umari says that the houses were made of stone and bricks. Floors were paved with white stone like marble. He further informs us that none of the houses was more than two stories high and some were single storied.[9]

Furthermore, the houses of the nobles had plasters of different colours and sometimes the coating of gold and silver. Various types of figures of trees and other objects were painted on the walls and on the ceilings of the houses of the nobles.[10] The order to erase the images from the houses, walls and palaces by Sultan Firuz Shah suggests that there was a common practice to paint the images on the walls of houses.[11]

[8] Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 40; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 140.

[9] Shihabuddin al Umari, *Masālik ul-Absār-fi-Mamalik-ul-amsār,* Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* Vol. III, p. 575; Yusuf Husain, *Social and Economic Conditions*, p. 21.

[10] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 58.

[11] Firuz Tughluq, *Futuhat,* p. 17; Eng. tr., pp. 27-28.

The houses of the nobles were situated near the royal palaces and were modeled almost after the same pattern.[12] It has been suggested by some scholars earlier that they were built on the plan of the royal buildings. The better repose and composure in the houses of nobles reflected more security for them than for the monarchs. The houses of the nobles were spaciously large, consisting of drawing rooms, baths, sometimes a water-tank, a spacious courtyard, and even a library. Separate apartments were built for the ladies. These houses were decorated with costly hangings and beautiful curtains.[13]

Further, we have scattered references regarding the houses of the nobles. Such as Najmuddin Jilani, who was a merchant and later appointed by the Sultan as *amir* of Cambay with all relevant *maratibs*. He had built a spacious house and a *masjid* in Cambay.[14] Another references regarding repairing of his own house, costing four thousands dinars and building of a mosque by Ibn Battuta,[15] the then Qazi of Delhi, indicate that the mosques were built in the vicinity of the houses of the nobles. While the house of Shaikh Ibrahim, the Muqti of Dhar, was situated outside the walls of the city.[16] Similarly, we have a very unusual reference about the house of Shaikh Shihabuddin, who was the

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[12] Abha Rani, *Tughluq Architecture*, Varanasi, 1991, p. 61. cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 329-30. Regarding the location of the houses of the nobles, Afif says that since the reign of Sultan Muhammad, the residence of Qewwam ul-Mulk was located near the western gate of the palace. See, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 64-65. While Khwaja Jahan resided in the upper portion of the palace of Thousand pillars (*Hazar Sutun*) at Delhi. See, Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 63. And, Jam and Banbh, the courtiers were provided residences near the Sarai Malka, which was named Sarai Thatta, after their settlement. See, Afif, p. 253.

[13] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 217-18.

[14] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Hindi tr, Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, part-I, p. 274.

[15] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 760.

[16] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p.167. He had cultivated the fallow land there and began to sow melons, which produced an extraordinarily sweet flavor equaled by none in that land.

Diwan-i-Mustakhrij. He had excavated for himself a great cave in the interior of which he fitted up chambers, store-rooms, an oven and a bath. He resided in this care-house for more than two years.[17]

In addition to that, we get further more references, from Ibn Battuta, which gave us an idea about the houses of the nobles. At a time, he was welcomed by Qutbul Mulk, the governor of Multan, at his residence. Governor was sitting on a large carpeted dais, army commanders and armed men were standing on his right and left. Troops passed in review before him, and he was enrolling the archers, troopers and horsemen.[18] All it happened at his palace. Thus, it shows that the noble's establishments were modeled on the patterns of royalty. He gave another reference about the palace allotted to Amir Saifuddin Gaddah, which was the palace of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji. The palace consisted of exceptionally large audience hall and an immense vestibule. Ibn Battuta says that near the entrance gate, there is a pavilion which overlooks this audience hall, through which one entered into the palace. The palace had all required necessities like furniture, beds, carpets, etc.[19] Ibn Battuta gives a vivid picture of the residence that was allotted to him. It was full of all domestic necessities like furniture, carpets, mats, vessels, and bed. He described the Indian beds in much detail. He says that, these are much light in weight, carried by a single man. While travelling, every person transported his own bed that was carried on the shoulders of his slave. This bed consisted of four conical

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[17] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 698.

[18] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p.189.

[19] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 685; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 77-78.

legs with four crosspieces of wood on which braids of silk or cotton were woven. It was pliable. He further says that there were two mattresses and pillows and a coverlet, all made of silk. They needed white liven or cotton slips as covers for the mattresses and coverlets, so they could be easily washed and the bedding remain clean inside.[20]

Besides these articles of beddings, the floor of a house was covered with the carpets.[21] Gold and silver ornamented bedsteads fitted with silk mattress were used by rich people.[22] Thus, it can safely be said that nobles were in a position to live extravagantly because of their immense wealth. They possessed palatial houses with all necessary comforts, slaves, costly and attractive furniture, carpets, and gold and silver utensils.[23] Very important information came to us from *Futuhat-i-Firuzshahi* of Sultan Firuz Shah that it was the practice of the time to paint the pictures and portrait on tents, curtain, and chairs, and even on the furniture. Even the images were painted on houses, walls, and palaces, but Sultan ordered to erase all such images.[24] It suggests that the painting was in vogue for decorative purpose at that time.

As far as the dresses of the nobles are concerned, it was below the dignity of the noble to wear linen. They wore fine silken cloaks in public and a

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[20] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 737-738; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 58; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 205-206; Ashraf, *Life and conditions*, pp. 218-219.

[21] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 59.

[22] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 219.

[23] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, Indore, 1978, p. 179.

[24] Firuz Tughluq, *Futuhat*, pp. 16-17; Eng. tr, pp .27.

loose shirt in private.[25] Nobles and officials also wore the *kulāh* and a *pag* or turban.[26] They wore costly colourful robes, and later Firuz Shah had prohibited the use of silken and gold embroidered cloth, considering it against the *sharia.*[27]

Describing the dresses of the nobles, Afif says that their dress was made of soft linen and no one hesitated in wearing such dress. He says that wearing a tunic to cover the dress (robe) was considered bad among the elders and because of it everyone refrained from it. No one was permitted to attend the royal court without boots and headgears, i.e. with uncovered head.[28] Costly silken and cotton clothes were worn by the nobles and to buy these clothes they had to seek the permission from the *Diwan-i-Riyasat.*[29] We also get reference regarding the costly Tartaric gowns and Islamic qaba of Khwarizm buckled in the middle of the body and short turban worn by the nobles. Their dresses were gold embroidered. They also tied gold and silver belt round their waist.[30] Nobles used to wear different dresses for different occasions. On public occasions, nobles used to wear a *khilat* suit, if they belonged to the Sultan's peers. *Kulah* as for head-dress, a tunic of brocade and velvet with a white belt was the official dress of the nobles. High rank nobles rode on a fine Tartar horse with costly trappings and few retainers walking before and after him.

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[25] Dr. Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India,* Delhi, 1973, p. 143.

[26] Ibid., p. 143.

[27] Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 39.

[28] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 280; Eng. tr., p. 163.

[29] Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 220.

[30] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla,* p. 33; Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 196.

While the short Indian turban called pag, tunic of fine texture and ordinary shirt and drawers were the private dress of the nobles. Modern scholars also referred the undergarment of muslin (or of any fine material), and the sleeping suits of the nobility.[31]

The Arab writers Shihabuddin al-Umari and Al-Qalqashandi has devoted a chapter on the dresses. The chroniclers inform us that the dress of army officers, *Khans, Maliks* and others consisted of Tartaric gowns, *Taklawat* and the Islamic *Qabās* (shirts) of Khwarizm, buckled in the middle of body and turban which were small and not exceeding five or six forearms made of fine Muslin. Their dresses were of *bayad* and *Jukh* in white color. Tartaric gowns of nobles were also in white colour and were embroidered with gold. Some of the dignitaries or high rank personages wore brocades embroidered on the sleeves, while on the dresses of others there was embroidery between the shoulders. The head-dress of the nobles was square (four-cornered) in shape ornamented with jewels and mostly with rubies. As for hair style is concern, they plait their hair in hanging locks and put silk tussles in it. Gold and silver belts were used to bind tightly their waists, and also wear shoes and spurs. They girt the sword only when travelling and not in residence.[32]

As for the dresses of the Wazirs and secretaries are concerned, they did not girt the belts, like the soldiers, but let down in front of them the piece of

[31] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, pp. 210, 221; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 39; Yusuf Husain, *Social and Economic Conditions*, p. 9.

[32] *Masalik*, Eng. tr. Spies, p. 59; *Masalik*, Eng. tr. Siddiqui, p. 134; Spies, *Arab Account*, pp.69-70; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 53; Moti-Chandra, *Costumes Textiles*, pp. 142, 143-144.

cloth from the ends of the turban like that of Sufis. While the Judges or Qazis and Ulamas and other learned men wore more ample gown called *Farajiyat* that resembles an Arabic garment called *durra,*[33] that is a loose coat made of red *fur.*[34]

Evidence reveals that no one among nobles, officers and other important high rank dignitaries dare to wear cotton clothes imported from Russia and Alexandria except those, whom the Sultan gifted that clothes. They dare not to use draped and gold embroidered saddles except those to whom the Sultan gifted them.[35]

It was a general norm that the Sultan used to gift the clothes to the nobles and the officials alongwith their wives twice in a year. For the purpose about four thousand embroiders were engaged to produce the brocades of fine quality.[36]

It shows that the nobles wore dresses of fine qualities. Ibn Battuta describes the costly dress of a noble Amir Saifuddin Gaddah on the occasion of his marriage with Sultan's sister. The dress was of silk, in blue colour, embroidered with gold and studded with precious stones. He also wore a cap matching to the dress. The precious stones, on the dress were so many that even the original colour of the cloth was hidden.[37] Ibn Battuta was much surprised

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[33] *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, p. 59; Spies, *Arab account,* pp. 69-70; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles,* p. 143.

[34] *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 134.

[35] Spies, *Arab Account,* pp. 70-71; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles,* p. 142.

[36] *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, pp. 29-30; Siddiqui, *Social Mobility,* p. 34.

[37] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla,* p. 79; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles,* p. 143.

with the richness of this dress. According to his own testimony he never saw such precious dress. Sometimes Sultan presented his own dress to the nobles[38] even from his wardrobe.[39] Contrary to it, some nobles like Malik Syed-ul-Hajjab observed great care in dress and in accordance to the *sharia* he never wore the dresses which were not permissible.[40] While Malik Naib Barbak ordered to be tailored a loose shirt for himself from a very costly pure cloth which was gifted to him.[41] The dress of a captured rebel noble, as described by Ibn Battuta was a piece of cloth tied round his loins with a rope while the rest of the rope was hanging round the neck.[42] Afif described Khwaja Jahan wearing a loose vest shirt without a head gear.[43]

New arrivals at the royal court were also bestowed expensive robes by the Sultan.[44] One Nasiruddin was given such robe which was an Abbasid robe, black in colour, embroidered with gold and covered with precious stones. There was also a turban, matched with this robe.[45] Khudawandzadah Zia al-Din, who was appointed *Amir-i-dad,* was awarded a silk robe with gold embroidery of the kind called *surat al-Shir* (picture of a lion). The robe had a figure of a lion on its breast and its back. The amount of gold used in its

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[38] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 466; Eng. tr., p. 253; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 408; Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 618.

[39] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. III, p. 761; Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 275; Eng. tr., pp. 160-161.

[40] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 450; Eng. tr., p. 246.

[41] Ibid. pp. 434; Eng. tr., p. 238.

[42] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 108.

[43] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 66; Eng. tr., pp. 59-60.

[44] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 743-744.

[45] Ibn Battuta had described this robe given to Nasiruddin by Sultan. For details, see, Ibid., p. 675.

embroidering was shown on a tag sewn inside the robe.[46] Another noble was also given such kind of robe.[47] Another type of robe given by Sultan to Ibn Battuta was the robe which had on its breast and on its back the figure of a *mihrāb*[48] that is why the robe was called *Mihrābi*. While Firuz Shah Tughluq, forbade this practice of painting the images on the dresses considering it as against the *sharia*.[49] Even the dresses of the nobility made of silk and gold brocades, and gold embroidery were forbidden by him.[50]

Evidences throw significant light on the various dishes served to the nobles. It also showed that rich food was served to them. A large staff was maintained by the nobles that indicates their management in the kitchen establishment of their household maintenance. The appointment of these domestic functionaries (*hashia*) is mentioned by Ibn Battuta. They were the valets, the cooks, the running footmen (*daradāvia*), the water-bearer (*abdāriya*, which is the *saqqa*), the sherbet dispenser, the betel-givers, the arm-bearers, the spear-bearers, the umbrella-bearers, the laver-carriers, the chamberlains and he heralds.[51] The expert cooks received patronage from the nobles.[52]

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[46] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*. 746.

[47] Ibid., pp. 746-747.

[48] Ibid., p. 747.

[49] Firuz Tughluq, *Futuhat*, pp. 16-17; Eng. tr., p. 27.

[50] Ibid., p. 17; Eng. tr. p. 28; Moti Chandra, *Costumes Textiles*, p. 143.

[51] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. III, p. 760; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 132.

[52] Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 136.

Food was prepared mainly with flour, meat, sugar candy, butter and betel.[53] Various types of rich dishes were served to the nobles. Foremost amongst them were thin round cakes of bread,[54] roasted meat,[55] roasted sheep called *zallāh*,[56] round dough cakes made with ghee and stuffed with sweet called *Sabuniyā*,[57] another dish called *khishti* prepared with bread-cakes kneaded with ghee and filled with marzipan then covered with four pieces of sweet-meats in the shape of bricks,[58] meat cooked with ghee, onion and green ginger,[59] rice cooked in ghee with chicken called *Hāshimi*.[60] Besides these rich and lavish dishes, another dish called *Samusak* was much favorite dish of the nobles. It was prepared with hashed meat and cooked with almonds, walnuts, pistachios, onions and spices. These ingredients were put inside a piece of thin bread and then fried in ghee to prepare *Samusak*.[61] Reference regarding a dish called *khichri* i.e. mixed rice and pulse are also traced out.[62] Various types of bread[63] and sweet meats[64] etc. were foremost dishes for the nobles. Regarding

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[53] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 761.

[54] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 607, 670, 761.

[55] Ibid., p. 670; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, pp. 125-126.

[56] Ibid, p. 761; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 144.

[57] Ibid, pp. 607-608; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, pp. 125-126.

[58] Ibid, pp. 608, 670, 761; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 144, Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 125.

[59] Ibid, p. 608; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 125.

[60] Ibid, pp. 608, 670; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126.

[61] It is similar to modern *Samosa*, see, Ibid., vol. iii, pp .608, 670, 761; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 144; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, pp. 125-126.

[62] Afif throw light on this dish, found from the kitchen of a famous noble of Firuz Shah, namely Imadul-mulk Bashir Sultani, see, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 216; Eng. tr., p. 133; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 127.

[63] Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126.

[64] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 761, 757.

the sweet meats, Ibn Battuta writes that it was taken at the end of the meal. He mentions names of the different kinds of sweet meats such as *al-muqarrasa, Jild-al-fāras,* and *Judge's sweet-mouthfuls* etc.[65]

Among the drinks, sugar-water called *Sherbet* was served before the meal,[66] and barley-water called *Fuqqā* was drunk just after the meal.[67] Betel[68] and areca-nuts[69] were also served after the meal. Even in the festive assemblies betel was distributed among the people.[70] Betel was prepared with costly ingredients[71] and was generally considered substitute of wine.[72] Shihabuddin Al-Umari describes the qualities of betel in detail and writes: "It possesses the qualities some of which are not found in the wine. It perfumes the breath, promotes the digestion, cheers up the soul immensely and imparts extraordinary joy along with strengthening the intellect and clarifying the memory and is delightful in taste. As regards its components, it is the leaf of the betel and betel nut and lime which were specially prepared. People of India do not consider an honour greater than this. When a man becomes the guest to another who honours him with all sorts of meals etc., but he does not serve the

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[65] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 757.

[66] Ibid. pp. 608, 670, 737; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 126; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75.

[67] Ibid., pp .608, 670, 737, 757; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75.

[68] Ibid., pp. 608, 671, 737, 757; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 75.

[69] Ibid., pp .608, 671; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, pp. 50, 75.

[70] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 50.

[71] Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 131.

[72] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, p. 52; *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 131; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 130;

betel, it means he would not honoured him."[73] Nobles even sent betel leaves as the presents to other nobles.[74] Like wise when a highly placed person extends his regard to other he offered him the betel.[75]

The dishes were served in the vessels of gold, silver, glass, and even in brass and chinaware.[76] The vessels like large porcelain bowls, small saucers of leather, tin mugs (for barley-water), and golden vessels called "*Suyun*" with stands called "*Subuk*" were commonly used.[77] Besides these vessels there were drinking vessels, plates, jugs in gold[78] on the dining carpet of the nobles. Golden platters, gold trays, coloured dishes, goblets, water-pots, spoons, leather and earthen pots were commonly used.[79]

During the Sultanate period, horses were the main means of transport. Nobles carried their loads on horses, while oxen were used by the common people.[80] Nobles possess large number of horses, such as there were about thirty horses of fine breed in the stable of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Madhu, incharge of the fort.[81] Besides horse, camels were also used by the nobles.[82]

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[73] *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, p. 52; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes,* p. 130.

[74] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 476; Eng. tr, Vol. III, p. 721.

[75] *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Spies, p. 52.

[76] Ibn Battuta, *Travels,* pp. 608, 670, 736; Firuz Tughluq, *Futuhat,* p. 16; Eng. tr., p. 27; Rashid, *Society and Culture,* p. 59; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes,* p. 136.

[77] Ibid., pp. 608, 761, 736; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes,* p. 125.

[78] Ibid., p. 736.

[79] Ibid., p. 737; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 59.

[80] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, p. 23.

[81] Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 172.

[82] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, p. 22; *Masalik,* Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 116; Rashid, *Society and Culture,* p. 60.

The other means of transport commonly used by the notables was *Dulā* or decorated palanquin as described by Ibn Battuta. It was used besides horses, camels and elephants.[83] Thus, all the rich persons, officials and nobles used this *pālki* or palanquin for their conveyance.[84] It was carried by *kahārs* (servants). It was comfortable means of the transport.[85] These palanquins of nobles were covered with rich trappings and were surrounded by crowd of retainers like housemen, footmen, horn-blowers, torchbearers, musicians and servants. Drums were also beaten during the procession of a noble.[86] Nobles like Tatar Khan used covered palanquins for his slave girls and harem ladies.[87]

Afif referred an ornamental carriage which was sent by Sultan Firuz Shah for Khwaja Jahan, [88] while Malik Shamsuddin Damghani got a silver palanquin from the Sultan Firuz Shah when he was appointed the governor of Gujarat.[89] A very graphic description of a palanquin sent by Makhdum Jahan, Sultan's mother, is given by Ibn Battuta that the palanquin which was used for the journey had its roof made of braids of silk or cotton and on top of these there was a covered piece of wood made of bamboo. The palanquin is carried by eight men in two lots of four, who rest and carried it in turn. Usually the

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[83] Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures,* p. 201.

[84] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 492; Eng. tr., p. 266; Noble's bride was carried in a palanquin by slaves to the palace of the noble. For details see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 688; M. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, p. 219.

[85] Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 227; Rashid, *Society and Culture,* pp. 59-60.

[86] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions,* pp. 267-268.

[87] Ibid., pp. 173-174.

[88] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 71; Eng. tr., p. 62.

[89] Yahya, *Tarikh,* p. 132; Eng. tr. Basu, p. 139.

slaves used to carry it.[90] Thus, the horses, camels, elephants[91] and the palanquins or *Dula* were the common means of transport among the nobles. The boats were also in use.[92] Ibn Battuta mentions the voyage of Ala-ul-Mulk the governor of Lahari and Sindh. He had described the governor's ship in much detail.[93] In the ship, there was a separate cabin for the governor with all arrangements. There were musicians in the ship for recreation. However, large ship and boats were used by the nobles as their means of transport.

Besides harem ladies, slave girls in a large number were also maintained by the nobles. Because of it, *harem* institution emerged as significant feature of the household of the nobles. The best example comes to us from Khan-i-Jahan, Prime Minister of Sultan Firuz Shah. He was so much fond of slave girls that, there were about two thousand women from Rome and China in his harem.[94] Thus, the slave-girls were kept in a large number as concubines in the harem, which was remarkable for maintaining large number and variety of slave girls.[95] Each slave girl from the harem of Khan-i-Jahan would appear before him in full make up and beautifully dressed. Since he was the Prime Minister and was much busy in state affairs, thus he used to enjoy the company of the

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[90] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 740.

[91] Elephants were also used by the nobles for the transportation of their property. An elephant was presented by the Sultan to Ibn Battuta with which he transported his baggage. See, Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 109

[92] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 248. Here he referred to the rumour of sinking a boat carrying a noble's son. Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 60.

[93] Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 186.

[94] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 399-400; Eng. tr., p. 223; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 90; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 207; Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 13; Tapan Rai Chaudhry and Irfan Habib (ed.), *Cambridge Economic History*, p. 90.

[95] Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 40.

women in leisure time for pleasure.[96] It was also the practice of the nobles to take with them the slave-girls whenever and wherever they moved.[97]

Generally the nobles carry their slave-girls along-with them on horses but Tatar Khan did not follow this practice. He had constructed special palanquins for his slave girls made of wooden planks with curtains for the purpose of privacy and purdah. These were the locked palanquins.[98]

The passion for a slave girl sometimes became the cause of bitterness among the nobles.[99] Ibn Battuta, the Qazi of Delhi liked the slave girls more than his wives and always kept them in his company.[100]

Thus, the above evidences of the harem institution and slave-girls as a part of noble's household reveals the fact that the nobles maintained slave-girls in larger number. Because of these slave girls, harem expanded with their busy domestic life and enhanced house-hold establishment.

Sources of Sultanate period referred to the wine drinking parties. Thus, bearing upon the sources we get valuable information about the drinking of wine by the nobility. At a place, Afif referred to Firuz Shah Tughluq, Sultan of Delhi, says, that he used to drink wine frequently with great caution, during the initial stages of the march. He described different varieties of wine, such as

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[96] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 400; Eng. tr., p. 223.

[97] Rashid, *Society and Culture,* p. 90; Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 207; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 40.

[98] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 393-394; Eng. tr., pp. 220-21; Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 193; Rashid, *Society and Culture,* p. 143; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 40.

[99] Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 290; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 40.

[100] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, introduction, p. xxv, p. 106.

Saffron, rosey and *white,* drunk by him. He further goes on to say that similar to the Sultan, his courtiers also enjoyed different kinds of wine.[101] Sometimes the nobility held the wine parties at their residences and invited their friends.[102] Even sometimes drink was offered to the nobles, like Vizier, by the Sultan himself.[103] According to K. M. Ashraf, all the sections of the society consumed alcohol even women tutor of the children,[104] religious classes etc. drunk in secret, and soldiers and military men drunk wine openly.[105]

Thus, wine drinking was common in that period. Sultans as well as nobles were indulged in drinking. Nobles, even arranged wine parties at their residences, and all of their friends were invited in it.[106] Important Tughluq nobles were found drinking. Barani referring to Malik Taghi says that once he invited his men for a wine party and served them the drinks.[107] While Isami referred to Malik Shadi, a very powerful and clever warrior as under the influence of nocturnal, drink.[108] Thus, it referred that even the important nobles were indulge in wine drinking.

Even though it is strictly prohibited in Islam, in the convivial parties of aristocracy and the festive assemblies of higher classes of the society, wine

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[101] Afif, *Tarikh,* p. 145; Eng. tr., p. 101.

[102] Rashid, *Society and Culture,* p. 51.

[103] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla,* p. 108.

[104] Afif, *Tarikh,* p. 505.

[105] Ashraf, *Life and Condition,* p. 261.

[106] Luniya, *Life and Culture,* p. 196.

[107] Barani, *Tarikh,* p. 519; Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 260.

[108] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin,* p. 411; Eng. tr, vol. II, pp. 620.

drinking was a common practice.[109] The Arab writer Shihabuddin al-Umari, referred to the punishment as regards wine drinking, that it was eighty flogs. He further says that the Sultan inflicts exemplary punishments on any of his courtiers who drunk wine.[110] Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was severely against the wine drinking, even he dislikes the person who was addicted to it. Thus, the person who had no inclination for wine and other alcoholic drinks, content himself with betel, that possess qualities which were not found in wine. Betel was much considered during that period.[111]

Sources help us in easily citing the examples of wine drinking and punishments given by Sultans. First we get the information from Ibn Battuta, who as a Qazi reached Amroha to solve a dispute between Aziz Khummar (finance director of that place) and Shamsuddin Badakhshani (commander of the district). The Subordinate of Shamsuddin, namely Al-Rida al-Multani, who was charged of drinking wine and stolen 5000 dinars. He, as a Qazi enquired all about it and then finally ordered to be given eighty lashes and imprisonment.[112] Another reference about the wine drinking by a high rank noble, at Delhi, comes to us, while it was prohibited by the Sultan. And, when Sultan came to know about it, he confiscated all his wealth in anger, to punish him.[113]

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[109] Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature in the Sultanate Period*, Delhi, 2005, p. 57.

[110] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 123.

[111] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, p. 52.

[112] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 763.

[113] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Spies, p. 38; *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 123; Spies, *Arab Account*, p. 64.

Every section of a society has their own ways regarding the ceremonies and the celebrations. Thus, the burial of a dead man was to wash him, wrapped him in the grave-clothes and then finally buried in the tomb prepared for him,[114] or any required place.

Ibn Battuta gave us a very graphic description, regarding the funeral ceremony, on the occasion of the death of his daughter. Describing it, he says that it was customary to visit the grave of the dead person after the burial of the third day. On that occasion of visiting, the grave was covered with the carpets, and silk cloths on all the sides and various types of flowers were spread over it. Flowers were of jasmine, and *gul-shabah* (yellow flower), *iraibul* (white flower) and *nisrin* of two types (yellow and white). Besides these flowers, branches of orange and lemon trees, with fruits, were set up.[115] Dried fruits and coconuts were, too, heaped upon the tomb. Then, people assembled round it, holding the copies of *Qurān* in parts, and recited it. After the recitation was complete, julep was brought by the servants, and the people drunk it. After it, rose-water was sprinkled over them profusely. Before the people retired the place, betel was offered to them.[116]

Ibn Battuta further goes on to say that on the third day after the burial, a *sarachā* or canopy was erected over the tomb, and the nobles, like wazir, and

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[114] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 652.

[115] If there were no fruits on these branches, they were attached with threads.

[116] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 739; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, p. XLVIII, p. 121; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 80; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 200; Mahdi Husain; *The Social Life and Institutions With Especial Reference to the Hindus in the Days of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, Proc. I.H.C., Bombay, 1947, p. 297.

the chamberlain Al-Din-Al-Fushanji, and Qazi Nizam al-din karwani, and other principal men of the city arrived here. All these people took their respective seats, and the chamberlain seated in front of them. After that the person related to the dead person (Ibn Battuta, here) entered with his companions and sat down in the vicinity of the tomb. Then the recitation of *Quran* started. After them, the professional *Quran* readers started recitations of the *Quran*, with beautiful voices. After which the *Qazi* rose and recited an elegy on the dead person, and a eulogy in praise of Sultan. When the name of Sultan was mentioned the whole assembly rose to their feet and did homage to the Sultan, and then sat down, and *Qazi* finally pronounced a beautiful invocation. Later on barrels of rose-water were took and sprinkled over the people by the chamberlain and his companions. And finally candy-water or sherbet and betel were offered to the people.[117]

Ibn Battuta says that it was the custom among the Indians to provide for their dead in the same way as people did during their lifetime. Elephants and horses were brought and tied near the gate of the tomb. Tombs were highly decorated. When Ibn Battuta was given the charge of the tomb of late Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji, he acted accordingly. He had appointed one hundred-fifty reciters of *Quran* (*khatimi*), eighty students, eighty repeaters (*mukarrarin*), one professor, eighty Sufis, and imam, muezzins, pleasant-

[117] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 739-740; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 148; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 202.

voiced readers, panegyrists and clerks who might register the absentees, and lastly ushers, over the tomb.[118]

Besides above these persons, another class of functionaries was also appointed at the tomb. These were the domestics (*hāshia*), the valets, the cooks, running foot men (*dawadāvia*), the water bearers (*abdāriya*), sherbet-dispensers, the betel-givers, the arm bearers, the spear-bearers, the umbrella bearers, the laver-bearers, the chamberlains, and the heralds – they were about 460 in number.[119] For feeding the people, at the tomb, thirty five maunds of flour and equal amount of meat together with proportionate amount of sugar-candy, butter and betel were used. Thus, the employees and wayfarers were fed.[120]

Contemporary sources contained a lot of information regarding the marriages of the nobles. Sometimes the matrimonial alliance took place among the nobles, while sometimes with the members of royal family. References regarding the marriages, more then one times also came into the light. There are many references, where the Sultan's sisters or other royal princesses were married to the high rank and confident nobles. Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk entitled Malik-ush-Sharq (deputy prime minister of Firuz Shah) was married with Sultan's sister.[121] While Amir Bakht was given the province of Chanderi and

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[118] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 81.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 282; Eng. tr., p. 164.

married with Sultan's sister[122] and Azam Malik al-Bayazidi was also relative of Sultan by a matrimonial alliance.[123] Another royal princes was also married with Maulana Yusuf, who became 'Dawar-ul-mulk', during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah.[124] Malik-ul-Hukama, Iqtadar of Broach, was brother-in-law of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah; he was married to the daughter of Sultan's step-mother, the widow of Tughluq Shah, while Amir Saifuddin Gaddah also married with another sister of Sultan.[125] In that way, there were many nobles who were married with the royal ladies. We get the name of some of the nobles who became the son-in-laws of Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah) were the son of 'Malik of Maliks' Imaduddin Simnani, son of Malik ul-Ulama, son of the Shaikh ul-Islam, and the son of Sadr-i-Jahan al-Bukhari.[126] Thus, above references shows the matrimonial relationship between the nobles and royalty.

Another example of matrimonial relations among the nobility comes from Ibn Battuta, where he described the marriage of two daughters of the Prime Minister Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz (Turk by race) with the two sons of Khudawand Zadah Qiwamuddin (Iranian immigrant to the court). The alliance was arranged by the Sultan.[127] He also gives a brief description of the marriage

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[122] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 113; Gibb, *Travels*, p. 729.

[123] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 731.

[124] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 98; Eng. tr., p. 100.

[125] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 113.

[126] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 688.

[127] Ibid., p. 692, M. Athar Ali, *Nobility under Muhammad bin Tughluq*, in *Medieval India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture*, (Collected essays of M. Athar Ali), Delhi, 2006, p. 32.

ceremony. Here, Wazir was absent and Sultan arrived at his residence by night and attended the ceremony of the marriage. Grand Qazi read the statement of the *dowry,* Sultan stood until the Qazi was reading it, while the other *qazis, amirs* and *Shaikhs* remained seated. Sultan took up with his own hands, the clothes and purses, which were specified in the agreement of dowry. He placed these things before the grand Qazi and two bridegrooms. At this moment, *amirs* rose up protesting that Sultan was doing all this himself, but Sultan ordered them to sit and completed the ceremony with his active participation. Finally after giving charge to a high rank amir, Sultan with drew from the ceremony,[128] in which he was acting in the capacity of the deputy for his own Wazir, who was absent from this ceremonial function.

Ibn Battuta, who was the Qazi of Delhi, had married more than one time. During his residence at Delhi, he was married with the sister of Sharif Ibrahim, the court official (*kharitadār* i.e. keeper of paper and pens), and the governor of Hansi and Sarsati. His father was governor of Mabar. With this marriage, she bore a daughter, but later they were separated.[129] While during his stay at Delhi (about nine years), he does not mention any further marriages, but he retained a large number of slave girls. One slave girl accompanied him Delhi from Bukhara and bore a daughter, who died after his arrival at Delhi.[130] There are many other references regarding the marriages of Ibn Battuta, while

[128] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 692.

[129] Ibid., pp. 718-719; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla,* p. LVI; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures,* p. 207.

[130] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla.* Introduction, p. LVI.

he was on his way to china as an ambassador, sent by Sultan. On his way, he married many women of that area.[131]

Besides these information regarding matrimonial relationship, a detailed graphic account of the marriage ceremony of an Arab noble Amir Saifuddin Gaddah, is given by Ibn Battuta.[132] Here he described the customs and ceremonies during his marriage with Sultan's sister. The wedding ceremony was held at the red palace popularly known as *Kushak-i-lal.*[133] While describing this ceremony Ibn Battuta, referred to some Indian customs, such as applying of henna on the hands and feet of bride and bridegroom, bridegroom's procession, their false struggle to enter the bride's house, betel given by bride to bridegroom and finally scattering of gold dinars over the guests, were some Indian customs.[134]

The detailed description over the festivities concerned this marriage and extravagance involved in it is given by Ibn Battuta to us. He says that Sultan appointed Malik Fathullah, *Shawanawis* for all the arrangements for this marriage feast and its expenses. Ibn Battuta was ordered to remain with *Amir* Saifuddin (Bridegroom). Two marquees were installed, and the two audience halls of red palace were covered with them. In it, extremely large pavilions were erected and were decorated with five cushions, and carpets. Besides this

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[131] During his stay at Maldives Island, Ibn Battuta married the daughter of Wazir Sulaiman. Brief account of the marriage ceremony is also given by him. For details see, Gibb, *Ibn Battuta,* pp. 249-250. Besides her, he also married three other women, one daughter of a Wazir, and another the former of a person. For details, See, Gibb, *Ibn Battuta,* pp. 250-251.

[132] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 686-689.

[133] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 74.

[134] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 686; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 233.

decoration and preparation, male and female singers and dancers came with Shamsuddin Tabrizi (amir of the musicians) to enhance the festivity of the occasion. The festivity went on for fifteen days and the cooks, bakers, roasters, pastry cooks, butlers and betel-servers were called to serve the food, and the cattle and birds were slaughtered. During these days of festivity principal amirs and distinguished foreigners were present night and day.[135]

Two nights before the wedding procession, ladies (of Sultan's palace) reached Red Palace and decorated it luxuriously. After furnishing it, they sit Amir Saifuddin on a cushion.[136] Then, they applied henna on his hands and feet, and all the ladies sung and danced. After this henna ceremony, there was a bride's party, who stood before the entrance of the place, where bride would unveil herself to bridegroom, and bridegroom came with his party. But before entering they had to win a mock fight with bride's party, or gave them some thousands of *dinārs*. Thereafter, on the wedding day evening, a ceremonial robe of blue silk embroidered with jewels, was brought to Amir Saifuddin. Regarding this robe Ibn Battuta says that the jewels covered the robe so completely that the original color of the robe was hidden from the view. It was same with his turban. Ibn Battuta never saw such beautiful and precious dress. Even the robe like this was not given by Sultan to his other brother-in-laws.[137]

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[135] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 686; Siddiqui, *Food Dishes*, p. 121.

[136] Amir was without his relatives, so these ladies took place of his relative ladies, on the order of Sultan. So that he might feel amongst his own people.

[137] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 686-687.

After it, when the bridegroom mounted along with his supporters, a sort of crown (like modern *sihrā*) of the flowers like jasmine, muskrose and *raibul*, with a veil long enough to cover. The head and chest of the bridegroom, was placed over the head of the *amir*. Wearing it, he along with his supporters reached the place, where bride's party was already stationed. With a little mock resistance, they entered.[138]

On the wedding evening, bridegroom entered the audience hall here bride was already sitting over a high pulpit. Bride was looking beautiful, decorated with brocade hangings and covered with precious jewels. Here women and female musicians, with all kinds of musical instruments were present. These all presenting people stood on their foot to pay him honor and respect. There entered bridegroom on horseback and reached up to pulpit. Here he dismounted and made the gesture of homage, on reaching the first step of pulpit. Ibn Battuta says at this moment, bride rose up, standing until bridegroom reached the top. Here bride gave him betel with own her hand, after eating it he sat down below the step on which bride was standing. Thereafter gold dinars were thrown over the present friends of bridegroom, and the women picked them up. At this moment, singing girls were singing away, drums, bugles, and pipes were sounded outside the gate of the palace. Bridegroom rose up, took bride by the hand and cane down, with her. He mounted on his horse, and again *dinārs* were thrown over them, and the companions of bridegroom. Bride sat in a palanquin, carried by the slaves, and

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[138] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 687-88.

the ladies rode on horseback in front of her, while rest of women walked. It was also a custom, that when every time this marriage procession passed by the house of an *amir* or person of rank, he came out to salute them and scattered over them gold and silver coins, as per their interest until they reached the palace of bridegroom, Amir Saifuddin.[139]

According to the information based on the account of Ibn Battuta, the marriage ceremony did not end with it. On the next day of the marriage, robes and gold and silver coins were sent by bride to all of the companions of bridegroom. A horse with its saddle and bridle and a purse of silver coins (about 1000-2000) were presented to them all by the Sultan. The in charge of this ceremony (Malik Fathullah) presented silk robes and purses to the ladies and musicians. Thus, with these presents the marriage ceremony was regarded as complete. And, a meal was too served to all, on that day, that was the mark of the end of a marriage ceremony at that time.[140] Thus, the women were the dominating element during the marriage ceremony. They took part in all ceremonies during the marriage, sing songs and also rode on horse back, in the bridal procession.[141]

Mahr and dowry are also related with the marriage. We have a very little bit of information on this point. As was mentioned earlier, there are references regarding polygamous marriages so the point given by Victor S. D'souza is of

[139] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 688-689; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 133.

[140] Ibid., p. 689.

[141] K.N. Chitnis, *Socio-Economic History of Medieval India*, Delhi, 2005, p. 83.

worth significance, that a man can secure a wife for a small amount of *Mahr*.[142] He says this because he got the information from Ibn Battuta, regarding his marriage at Maldives Island, while he was on his way to China, as an ambassador of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sultan of Delhi. It was easy to marry in Maldives Island, because of dowry. It is the chief reason given by Ibn Battuta.[143] During his way, Ibn Battuta married local women, when he was at Delhi, he was married with the daughter of a noble,[144] but when he left Delhi, as an ambassador to China, he did not take his wife here, even he did not know what happen to her,[145] and always liked to travel with his slave-girls.[146] During his stay at Maldives Island, he married four times, when he left, one of its Island, he divorced one of his wife and remaining three a little later. Thus, he married many time and leave his wives.[147]

[142] Victor S. D'Souza, '*A Unique Custom Regarding Mahr (dowry) observed by certain Indian Muslims of South India*', Islamic Culture, vol.29, October, 1955, Hyderabad, p. 274.

[143] Ibid., p. 274; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 202.

[144] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Introduction, p. LVI; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventure*, p. 207.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid., p. LVI.

[147] D'Souza, *Unique Custom*, pp. 273-274; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 249-250, 250-251.

Chapter-6

Charity, Gift and Bribes

Gifts exchanges were an integral part of the court culture under the Tughluqs. They served to establish long-standing, it still, hierarchical relations, between the Sultan and the nobles, as also between the nobles and the common people.[1] During the Tughluq period, lavish gifts were presented by the Sultans to their nobles and also by the nobles to the Sultans with great generosity. Charity and gifts provide us an idea about the wealth and the consumption levels of the Sultanate nobility. To sustain their extravagant lifestyle, the nobles took bribes, and while the state condemned it, bribery was a restive feature of the court culture during the Sultanate period.

Afif praised the *Khans, Maliks* and *Amirs* of his period that they were honest, good intentioned, pleasant to the public and custodians of the welfare of the subjects, providing relief and comforts to the subjects.[2] Thus, the references regarding the individual charity by the nobles are numerous and the sources refer to the nobles who gave charities and helped out the poor. Such as Ibn Battuta describes Qutlugh Khan, as a helpful and kind person, who loved to liberally give alms to the poor and the needy. He says that the nobles were always eager to help the poor and indigents.[3] Regarding Malik Naib Barbak, Afif says that he did not take a single *dang* above his salary of *Naib Barbaki* that was his post. If any one among his well-wishers was in distress, he would

[1] Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 255.
[2] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 438; Eng. tr., p. 240.
[3] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, p. 718; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 102.

be the first one to help him out.[4] Afif further goes on to say that all other *amirs* (nobles) of Sultan were also like Malik Naib Barbak, and some were even better than him.[5]

Other references regarding charity comes to us from the famous Hindi *Masnavi Chandāyan* written by Mulla Daud under the patronage of Khan-i-Jahan, the famous noble and Wazir of Sultan Firuz Shah.[6] The author praised Malik Mubarak (amir of Dalmau), because of his charity. He even compared his act of charity with the *karana* (of the great epic of *Mahabhārata).* The Malik helped out every person, who came to him.[7] He also praised the charitable act of another noble Khan-i-Jahan, who was his patron as well as the prime minister of Sultan Firuz Shah.[8] An inscription of Jaunpur mosque referred a noble Khwaja Kamil, son of Khan-i-Jahan as "the master of charity."[9]

Thus, the evidences point out that the nobles displayed their interest in charity and helped out the distressed or helpless people.

After charity, the other significant social etiquette was the exchange of gifts. Several occasions are mentioned in the sources, when the Sultan presented lavish gifts on their nobles. Horses equipped with ornamental saddles

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4 Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 434; Eng. tr., p. 238.
5 Ibid.
6 Abdul Qadir Badaoni, '*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh'*, ed. Maulavi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1868, p. 259; Eng. tr., George S.A. Ranking, vol. 1, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, p. 333.
7 Mata Prasad Gupta, *Chandāyana,* 1969, Agra, pp. 1-15; Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Maulana Daud Krit Chandāyana,* Bombay, 1964, pp. 13-14, 84.
8 Ibid., p. 10.
9 *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement)*, 1964, pp. 12-13; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1558-59, D-202. This Jaunpur Mosque was constructed in 756 A.H./1364 A.D., during one reign of Firuz Shah.

and reins, from the royal stables were presented by the Sultan to his nobles.[10] Besides horses, elephants were also presented by the Sultan to his nobles.[11] Gold embroidered robes and thousands of tankas[12] were also gifted by the Sultans.[13] Shihabuddin al-Umari says that the Sultan presented costly gifts, land assignments, wealth, jewel, horses, and saddles, gilded with gold and silver and even the clothes of various kinds.[14] Besides all these gifts the Sultan fixed the grant of eleven thousands of tankas for every new born daughter of his wazir Khan-i-Jahan and fifteen thousands of tankas for her upbringing and marriages.[15] Thus, all it shows that how many the nobles were favored by the Sultans with their lavish gifts. Besides, the slave-girls were also presented by the Sultans to their nobles.[16]

Following the Sultans, the nobles also adopted the practice of presenting lavish gifts to the Sultans and to their colleagues. Gifting of an elephant to Sultan Firuz Shah by Zafar Khan,[17] vessels of gold and silver, elephants, horses with saddles and bridles etc. presented by the provincial officers to Sultan,[18] as well as the lavish gift by Khwaja Jahan to Sultan that consisted of three trays,

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[10] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 78, 126-127, 131; where Sultan sent horses to Ibn Battuta as gifts. Also see. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 212.

[11] Ibid., p. 109; Afif records that six elephants were awarded by Sultan to Malik Naib Barbak. For details see, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 428-429; Eng. tr, p. 235-6. Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 18.

[12] Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100; Eng. tr, vol. I, p. 216.

[13] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 141; Eng. tr., pp. 99.

[14] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 128.

[15] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 399-400, Eng. tr., p. 223.

[16] K.S. Lal, *Muslim Slave System in Medieval India*, Delhi, 1994, pp. 52, 162.

[17] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 139, Eng. tr., p. 98.

[18] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. III, p. 663.

each one full of rubies, emerald stones and magnificent pearls respectively[19] are enough evidences.

Besides these evidences, we have a long list of presents given by nobles. Ibn Battuta, *Qazi* of Delhi, presented three camels, two gilded saddles and different kinds of sweetmeats to the Sultan.[20] While, Ain ul-Mulk presented goods and precious things to the Sultan,[21] and numerous gifts in welcome of Sultan were presented by Khan-i-Jahan.[22] Thus, the slaves,[23] camels,[24] Lakhs of tankas,[25] merchandise, weapons, and the woven stuffs[26] were the articles of presents and gifts.

Nobles used to present gifts to other nobles and officers. They presented horses to their companions,[27] slave girls[28] and even the embroidered robes.[29] Isami records that horses, money and clothes were presented by Bhiran, muqti of Gulbarga, to Qutlugh Khan.[30] While Ibn Battuta considered a white slave, a

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[19] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 663
[20] Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 202; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. iii, pp. 756-757.
[21] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 109; Eng. tr., pp. 111-112.
[22] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 123, 250; Eng. tr., pp. 70, 147-148; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 199.
[23] Ibid., pp. 267-268; Eng. tr., p. 157.
[24] Ibid., p. 340; Eng. tr., p. 193.
[25] Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah presented every year four lakhs of tankas as presents to Sultan. See, Ibid., p. 427; Eng. tr., p. 235.
[26] Merchant noble presented these articles besides slaves and camels. For details, see, Siddiqui, *Social Mobility*, pp. 30-31.
[27] Ibn Battuta presented horses to his companion Amir-i-Amiran Al-Kirmani. See, Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, pp. 106-07; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 212.
[28] Ten slave girls were presented by wazir to Ibn Battuta. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 123; Lal, *Muslim Slave System*, p. 162.
[29] Khan-i-Jahan presented embroidered robes to Imadul-Mulk Bashir Sultani as gifts. See Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 237; Eng. tr., p. 142.
[30] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 485; Eng. tr, Vol. II, pp. 726-27.

horse, and some raisins and almonds as best to present to Qutbul Mulk, the great *amīr* and the governor.[31]

Thus, all it shows that the nobles and high officials used to offer presents to each other, as they were given lavish gifts by the Sultans. These gifts included gold and silver, slaves, jewels, horses, weapons, embroidered robes etc.[32]

Besides charity and gifts, nobles made great display of their hospitability on special occasions and spent lavishly on feeding of the people. On several occasions, they distributed food among the people. Ibn Battuta, himself on several great occasions, like the two festive Ids, birthday of Prophet, 10th of *Muharram (Ashura day),* the night of mid-Shaban, and the day of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khaliji's death, ordered to prepare meal for the people. The food was prepared with hundred maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat with which he fed the poor and indigents.[33] Ibn Battuta used to feed the people with victuals, which he caused to be prepared in Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak's tomb.[34] It was ordered by the Sultan that the daily food should be prepared with twelve maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat. But the Qazi (Ibn Battuta) considered it insufficient for the people and used to spend thirty-five maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat together with proportionate amount of sugar candy, butter and betel daily. From this food, employees and wayfarers were feed by Ibn Battuta. Thus, during the severe

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[31] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 605.
[32] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 397-398; Eng. tr, p. 604; Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 198.
[33] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 94.
[34] Ibid., p. 117

famine people were relived by this food. Because of this generous act of Ibn Battuta, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah was very much pleased and he had awarded Ibn Battuta (*Qazi* of Delhi) with the royal robe.[35]

At another place, Ibn Battuta informs us that once during the time of famine, the Wazir of Sultan ordered *amirs* and Qazis for feeding the poor and indigent people. Ibn Battuta had to manage the food for five hundred poor people. These poor people were traced out and were put under the management of *amirs* and *Qazis*. Thus, Ibn Battuta lodged them in the verandah of two houses, and gave them food for continuous five days.[36] While another noble, Shaikh Ibrahim, the muqti of Dhar used to feed the poor and the needy person. He had built a hospice on a hillock at Dhar, and used to feed the wayfarers. He continued this act for many years.[37] Ain ul-Mulk, the famous Tughluq noble during the scarcity of rains distributed grains, piece of goods, and other things necessary to the poor people at Swargdwari. In return of this pious act and good management, Sultan gave him eighty lakhs of *tankahs* worth of cash and grain, and other various kinds of things.[38] Shamsuddin Muhammad the Sadr was great generous man and helper of poor. He used to extend financial assistance to the men of letters. Even the poor who were facing starvation get the fresh meal from his kitchen.[39]

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[35] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 142; Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 204.
[36] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, Part I, p. 268.
[37] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 167.
[38] Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p.104; Eng. tr, p. 225.
[39] I. H. Siddiqui, *Historical Significance of the fourteenth century Farhang literature*, in *Perso-Arabic sources of information on the life of Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1992, p. 84.

Thus, it shows the generous nature of the nobles. They not only acted generously with each other, but also with the common people. As they were much generous to provide charities, presenting gifts and feeding the poor, they also helped each others in time of needs. These generous acts of the nobles were the part of their life and their acts were of much significance in the study of norms and ethics.

The nobles vied with one another, when it came to charities and extravagance. If one noble bestowed fifty horses in his wine party and gave robes to two hundred persons, another noble would give away a hundred horses and bestow robes on five hundred.[40]

Besides all these acts, nobles also provided traveling provisions to the travellers. Whenever a noble found other in distress, he helped him out. Even a governor Sharif Jalaluddin al-Kiji gave Ibn Battuta, his (assigned) villages for the use of its revenues when the latter required large sum of money for his expenses. They provided horses and food to the travellers and even lodged them with hospitability that was the outstanding virtue of the Sultanate aristocracy.[41]

Public welfare was another important aspect of the lives of the nobility. The efforts were made to colonize the waste land by the Malik-ul-Tujjar, an

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[40] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 119-120.; Quoted by, Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 202; Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, p. 209.

[41] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 605-606; Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 14; Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 188, 222, 604. Here Ibn Battuta mentioned the generosity of Ala ul-Mulk, the governor of Sindh, who provided him the travelling provisions; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 259.

amir of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah.[42] It shows the interest of a noble in public welfare. The officials of Sultan Firuz Shah were ordered to establish hospitals for general public and proficient and competent surgeons, doctors and physicians were appointed therein.[43] Besides the hospitals, the *Muqtis* and other officials were ordered to establish orphanages in their respective regions. Idle children were traced out and the arrangements for their proper upbringing were made out. According to their aptitude, technical training and education was provided to them.[44]

The nobles also established educational institutions. In maintaining these institutions, they were helped by the state, as well.[45] During this period, most of the mosques and tombs had madarsas attached to them. The Khan-i-Jahan's mosque for example, was attached with *madarsa*.[46] The madarsas patronized by rich nobles had much able scholars, well versed in the art of education.[47] By providing education, they greatly contributed to the social life of common people.

The other aspect of public welfare and helping of people was the assistance in the marriages of poor girls by the nobles. They offered financial assistance to the poor parents for the marriages of their daughters. An office *Diwan-i-Khairat* offered considerable provisions for the marriages of daughters

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[42] Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 292-93.
[43] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 357; Eng. tr., p. 202.
[44] For details see, Ibid., pp. 267-273; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 215.
[45] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 91.
[46] Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 31.
[47] Nigam, *Administrative Training*, p. 91.

of poor parents. Usually the garments, bedsteads and other articles were collected from the houses of the nobles for the dowry of these girls.[48]

Contemporary sources contain the existence of Hospices (*Khanqāhs*) or the rest houses established by the Sultans, nobles and Sufi Saints. Ibn Battuta tells us that at every station from Delhi to Daulatabad, there was a hospice for the travellers. These hospices provided for the needs of the travellers. Thus, the poor travellers did not feel the necessity of carrying provisions in long distance travel.[49] Zainuddin Majdul Mulk, the muqti of Bihar, had built a Khanqah for Hazrat Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, the famous Sufi saint, by the order of Sultan. Revenue of Rajgir was assigned for the upkeep of this Khanqah. Earlier, the Sufi declined to accept the jagir as gift, but, later, reluctantly accepted it.[50] The Muqti of Dhar, Shaikh Ibrahim, built a beautiful building of hospice at the hillock of the city of Dhar. Here, he used to feed the wayfarers continuously for many years.[51] These Khanqahs maintained free kitchens, and shelter was provided to wayfarers and the needy persons. The nobles provided large sums to these Khanqahs.[52]

The nobles carried their load on the horses, while common people used oxen.[53] Besides horses, nobles also possessed the camels.[54] Barani mentions that there were thirty horses of good breed in the stable of Ikhtiyaruddin Madhu

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[48] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 191; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 131; Chitnis, *Socio-Economic History*, p. 84.
[49] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 44; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 63.
[50] Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 64.
[51] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 167.
[52] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 91.
[53] *Masalik,* Eng. tr, Spies, p .23.
[54] Ibid, p. 22; *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 116.

(a barber), the incharge of the fort.[55] Among the other items of luxury, Afif mentioned that once Sultan offered Khan-i-Jahan (Wazir) a gold-embroidered carpet.[56] Earlier, when he was appointed the wazir, he received a large cushion and gold embroidered pillows from Sultan Firuz Shah.[57] Mubarak Khan sat under a special carpeted dais, all covered with cushions, like that of Sultan himself.[58] Nobles and high rank personalities used articles of leather and Cambay silk.[59] Besides all these, gold and silver utensils, golden ornamented sword-belts, cups, ewers, and goblets and other things were used by the nobles, despite Firuz Shah's prohibitions. In *Futuhat,* Firuz Shah also prohibited human and animal figures on curtains, tents, and chairs. The houses of nobles were furnished with many rich articles that were considered against the *Sharia.*[60] Even the nobles used the horses with ornamented saddles gifted by the Sultan. They covered the saddle with gold and silver, embroidered cloth and ornaments.[61] A scientific instrument, known as *Ustaralab* was also used by the nobles to know the auspicious and exact time.[62]

Thus, the nobles lived in a lavish and luxurious life and imitated the Sultans. They usually followed the patterns set by the Sultans. Their houses, food, dresses, harem, slaves and wealth were just like the Sultans.[63] Afif says that till the death of Khan-i-Jahan, there was no difference of any kind between

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[55] Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship,* p. 172. cf. Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 554.
[56] Afif, *Tarikh,* pp. 403-404; Eng. tr., pp. 224-225.
[57] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 124; Eng. tr., Basu, p. 128.
[58] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 84.
[59] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 221; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 128.
[60] Firuz Tughluq, *Futuhat,* p. 27; Ashraf, *Life and Conditions*, p. 207.
[61] *Masalik*, Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 128.
[62] Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, p. 98.
[63] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 211.

Sultan and him.[64] Same statement for the Sultan and his Wazir Khan-i-Jahan is given by Ain ul-Mulk, where he says that due to confusion he entered in the tent of Khan-i-Jahan, considering it of the Sultan since both the tents were similar and there was no distinction between the tent of Sultan and of his wazir. Both tents were red in colour having reception tents, sleeping tents and elephants were standing before both the tents.[65] It shows the pattern of living with lavishness and luxury among the nobility.

There was pomp and show as well as competition in philanthropy among the nobility.[66] An idea of a noble's expenditure can be gauged from the information in Ibn Battuta, where he says that nobles were expected to purchase their own outing equipments and other required necessary things whenever they went out on hunting expedition with the Sultan. He himself bought a large tent with a white fabric endosure, together with food, utensils, clothing, carpets, animals, and corps of servants to supervise all these materials. He had hired eight men to carry his decorated palanquin.[67] A noble had to hire servants, when he did not have permanent servants.[68]

The noble's generosity is evident in the charities, gifts and public works. On the other hand, some of them were charged with the corruption, as well. Corruption was the darker side in the life of the nobles and played a significant role in the politics of the period.

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[64] Afif, *Tarikh,* p. 414; Eng. tr., p. 229.

[65] Sh. Abdur Rashid, *Insha-i-Mahru or Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulki,* Islamic Culture, July, 1942, vol. XVI, no. 3, Hyderabad, p. 283-284.

[66] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 179.

[67] Ross E. Dunn, *Adventures*, p. 201.

[68] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, pp. 752-753; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship,* p. 147.

Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* furnishes evidences regarding the bribes taken by the leading noble of Firuz Shah,[69] which indicates the prevalence of corruption among the nobility.

In this case, the name of a noble, Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (*Mustaufi-i-Mamalik*) came forward. He was extremely harsh and unkind and used to extract huge bribe from the assignments of the other nobles. Sultan was informed that Abu Rija harassed those who do not pay him bribe. Even the officials of the Wizarat department handed over the list of the misdeeds of Abu Rija to Khan-i-Jahan, Wazir of Sultan. The most heinous charge against Abu Rija was that during his deputyship of Gujarat he had borrowed ninety thousands tankas from the treasury which he never paid back. The another charge of corruption was that during his (Abu Rija's) posting in Gujarat, Sultan had ordered that the traders who brought elephants from the Islands for Sultan be paid the price of those elephants which may have died during their transportation, by way of compensation, from the royal treasury. Taking advantage of this royal order, Abu Rija had submitted false report of dead elephants and deposited the money of compensation in his personal account.[70] It shows that how a high ranked noble was not averse to taking bribes.[71] This noble, it was believed, spared nobody and every common man who in contact with him, had to grease his palms.[72]

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[69] Afif, *Tarikh,* pp. 459, 477, 483; Eng. tr, pp. 262, 249, 258.
[70] Ibid., pp. 484-487; Eng. tr., pp. 262-263; Lal, *Legacy of Muslim Rule,* p. 178.
[71] Ibid, p. 459; Eng. tr., p. 259.
[72] Ibid, pp. 478-479; Eng. tr., pp. 259-260.

Chapter-7

Literary Activities under the Tughluqs

The Tughluq nobility was not merely concerned with political affairs, but were actively engaged in cultural activities, providing active patronage to the men of letters. Some modern scholars consider the Sultanate a 'war-state', but it is an erroneous position, for it ignores the vibrant literary and cultural environment of the period.[1] Afif and other contemporary historians furnish much information about the literary activities of the nobles, and also the literary personages, patronized by the nobles. Among them were Sadr-i-Ala Ahmad Hasan, *Dabir* (secretary) in the *Diwan-ul-Inshā*,[2] Rafi, Hajib-i-Khairat,[3] Mutahhar of Kara,[4] as well as his noble patron Ain ul-Mulk Multani commonly known as Mahru,[5] who was himself engaged in literary activities during the Tughluq period. Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, Wazir of Sultan Firuz Shah patronized Mulla Daud, in compiling his famous Hindi *Masnavi*

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[1] Cf. Askari, *Historical Value*, pp. 1-2.

[2] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 424, 454; K.A. Nizami, *Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's History of India*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1981, p.71; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 78; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 171; Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, pp. 90-97; Askari, *Historical Value*, pp. 1-29; A.B.M. Habibullah, *Re-Evolution of the Literary Sources of the Pre-Mughal History*, Islamic Culture, Vol. XV, No.1, 1941, p. 215.

[3] Rafi, Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlavi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil fi-Lughat-il-Fazail*, ed. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Buniyad-i-Farhang, Iran, 1973, p. 46; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, Appendix-A, p. 923; Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, pp. 82-84; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 173.

[4] Muthhar, *Diwan*, ed. Dr. Abdur Razzaq, Patna, 1998.

[5] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 424, 454.

Chandayan.[6] Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija entitled *Zia-ul-Mulk*, the *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik*, used to compose verses, [7] and was a known patron of the anonymous author of the famous work on Indian Music namely *'Ghunyat-ul-Munya'*. [8] Qutlugh Khan, governor of Daulatabad [9] patronized Kamal Karim Nagori, who wrote a work on *Fiqh* known as *Majmu-i-khāni.* [10] Besides the nobles, Ibn Battuta, *Qāzi* of Delhi also composed verses in Arabic which he presented to the Sultan.[11] In the literary activity, the Tughluqid nobles may be classified into two categories. Firstly, the nobles who were themselves involved in literary compositions and secondly, the nobles who patronized the scholars. Some prominent nobles and their works are as follows:-

The author of *Basatin-ul-Uns,*[12] Sadr-i-'Ala, Ahmad Hasan Abdusi entitled Taj (ul-Mulk) known as Ikhtisan, was a noble of Ghiyas-uddin Tughluq

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[6]Mulla Daud, *Chandāyan*, ed. Mata Prasad Gupta, Agra, 1967, pp. 9-16; Badaoni, *Muntakhab,* Vol. I, p. 250; Eng. tr., p. 333; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty,* p. 237, note. 2.

[7] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 454, 460-61,497; Eng. tr., pp. 247, 250,286-269; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Eng. tr. Basu, p. 136; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 116; Eng. tr., p. 247; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq,* p. 181.

[8] Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, pp. 1-10; Mrs. Khursheed Nurul Hasan, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya, (The earliest Persian Manuscript on Indian Music)*, Proc. I.H.C., Delhi, 1961, pp. 177-179.

[9] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 454.

[10] Cf. the preface of the Manuscript preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University; Kamal Karim Nagori, *Majmu-i-Khāni* (University Farsia Fiqh, Zamina, no. 2), There is another manuscript also at Subhanallah Collection, 297. 3/15; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 122; Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 9.

[11] Ibn Battuta, *Travels,* p. 750.

[12] Manuscripts preserved in: British Library, London (MS. Add. 7717, Rieu, Vol. ii, p. 752 b. ff.167); Tagore Library, Lucknow (MS. No. 297, 15/M.P. 70 b, f. 240).

See also, S.H. Askari, *Historical Value of Basatin-ul-Uns* (A rare Literary work of early 14th C.), Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. XLVIII, Sec. 2, 1962, pp. 1-29; I.H. Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History of Tughluq Sultans in the Basatin-ul-Uns* in, *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life conditions of Sultanate of Delhi*, Delhi, 1992.

who accompanied him in his Lakhnauti expedition.[13] Modern scholars considered *Basatin-ul-Uns*, as a Hindu tale written in ornate Persian style containing matters of historical value.[14]

Ikhtisan was a hereditary noble of the Tughluqs whose father and grandfather also served the Sultans of Delhi. It seems that after the death of his father he joined the *Diwan-i-Insha* (Post of *Dabir*) at a very early age. He accompanied Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq in his eastward expedition in 1324 A.D. and wrote *Basatin-ul-Uns* after this expedition. He begins this work with the panegyrics of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq followed with a detailed account of Ghiyasuddin's Tirhut expedition. Ikhtisan who was with the Sultan during this expedition describes the overwhelming heat and other hardships he had to endure on his return journey to Delhi. There he fell ill and was saved by Hakim Muhammad Khujandi.[15] He further informs us that during his return journey a Hindu tale written in simple Indian language was bought to him by one of his friends which was the story of romance between the Prince of Ujjain and the Princess of Kashmir. It also covers the history of Qannauj, China, King Kishwargir of Kalyan and Queen Mulk Arai of Sarandip. Moreover 'Shahr-i-Bihar' also comes in the picture. Though the story was interesting yet Ikhtisan did not like the style. So he decided to compose it in ornate Persian giving it a medieval Muslim style,

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[13] Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 78; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 171; Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. 2, London, 1881, pp. 752 b – 753 a.

[14] Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 752 b; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 171; Habibullah, *Re-evolution of Literary Sources*, p. 215.

[15] Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71; Reiu, *Catalogue*, p. 753 a.

which he completed in 1325-26 A.D when he was only twenty-six years old[16]. Barani, in his *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* mentions Ikhtisan as Malik Ikhtisan Dabir in the list of prominent nobles of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah.[17] Later Chronicles Ferishta Corroborates Barani and informs that Malik Ikhtiyaruddin the author of *Basatin-ul-Uns*, held the office of Dabir.[18] While Bihamid Khani named him Malik Tajuddin Ikhtisan Dabir who was sent by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq as an ambassador to Sultan Abu Saeed, at Tabrez. He also quoted the verses from *Basatin-ul-Uns* in his *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi.*[19] Ikhtisan was appointed the Dabir-i-Khass during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and received the title Taj (-ul-Mulk) from the Sultan.[20]

The main characteristics of *Basatin-ul-Uns* are its floridity, rhetoricism, striking similes and metaphors, and subtle ingenuinity. Though he was not a first ranking poet, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq awarded him sixty thousand *Dinar-i-Muhammadi* (newly introduced gold coin) and sixty Arab and Tatar

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[16] Askari, *Historical Value*, pp. 2-5; Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, pp. 96-97. Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 753 a

[17] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 454; Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, p. 90.

[18] Ferishta, *Tarikh*. Vol. I, p. 130.

[19] Muhammad Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Hindi tr. by Rizvi, in *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, Part I, p. 358. f. 405 b.

[20] Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, p. 91; Ikhtisan writes for himself 'Taj-ul-Mulk' while Barani named him only 'Malik Ikhtisan' (*Tarikh*, p. 454), and Bihamid Khani named him 'Tajuddin' (Rizvi, Hindi tr. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 358). It shows that title was given to him by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

horses for one of his *Bahariya Qasida* in praise of the Sultan.[21]

A work on lexicography, known as *Dastur-ul-Afazil-fi-Lughat-il-Fazail*[22] (Manual of Scholarship in Vocabulary) was written by Rafi, the *Hajib-ul-Khairat* (Chamberlain of Charity works) at Delhi.[23] During the transfer of capital he was forced to migrate from Delhi with hardships to Daulatabad the new capital.[24] In the preface of his work he refers to the hardships caused by the transfer of capital by the Sultan. He further says that, "the compiler of the work and author of the dictionary, the weak servant, Rafi is famous as Hajib-i-Khairat, had become the refuge for sorrow and misfortunes. Since the revolving sky selected me for companionship in wandering, it drove me away from my own real native city and the permanent residence, the *Hazrat-i-Delhi* (The majestic Delhi) and thus made me suffer from separation. The army of adversities overwhelmed me so much so that I was unable to distinguish

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[21] Siddiqui, *Ikhtisan's History*, p. 93; Askari, *Historical Value*, pp. 5-6; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 753 a; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 71. Here we can compare the information by an Arab writer; One of the Secretaries used to compose eulogy on several occasion. The Sultan ordered the verses to be counted and then ten thousand tankas were paid to him for every couplet. And, it happened very often that Sultan appreciated some of the verses of eulogy and thought that the poet could not be rewarded properly by fixing an amount of money. Then he would order the poet to enter the treasury and carried away whatever he liked. Cf. *Masalik*. Eng. tr., Siddiqui, p. 134.

[22] Rafi, Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlavi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil-fi-Lughat-il-Fazail*, ed. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Buniyad-i-Farhang, Iran, 1352 Shamsi Hijra.

[23] Ibid., p. 46; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 923; regarding the name of the author, there is some misunderstanding among the scholars. Mahadi Husain named him Rafi, the Hajib-ul-Khairat (See, Isami, *Futuh*, p. 924), while according to A.D. Khan he was 'Rafi Shaikh' Hajib-ul-Khairat (*History of Sadarat*, p. 173). K. A. Nizami named him 'Hajib-ul-Khairat Dehlavi' (See, *Supplement*, vol. iii, p. 127). While I.H. Siddiqui, read his name, 'Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlavi alias 'Maruf' (See, his article, *Historical Significance*, p. 82). The editor of the work, Dr. Nazir Ahmad mentioned the author as Rafi Hajib-i-Khairat (See, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 9). But author in the preface calls himself, Rafi, known as *Hajib-i-Khairat*, (See, *Dastur*, p. 46).

[24] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Appendix-A, p. 923.

between my left and right hands".[25] Thus, the statement of the author reveals the hardships caused by the migration. It also shows that it was difficult for the scholars like him, to get patrons in the Deccan which was a new and alien territory.[26]

Before reaching Daulatabad, he stopped at Bir (a place between Khandwa and Itarsi) and was received by Malik Shamsuddin Jajniri, Minister Incharge of religious endowment, Sadr of Ustadabad (near Gulbarga).[27] The author also informed that Shamsuddin Jajniri, as a Sadr, had gathered the scholars and poets in a quite good number at the administrative unit of Ustadabad and extended patronage to them. Shamsuddin Jajniri was impressed with the learning and sophistication of the author, so he took him to Ustadabad.[28] Thus, the period of hardship came to an end, and he became the boon companion of his patron who showered much favour upon him.

Furthermore, Rafi praises his patron and describes the literary achievements and qualities of his patron, calling him as the 'most excellent of the learned of the world, most perfect of the poets of Hind and Chin, helper of the poor, a patron of the scholars and literati, generous of the age, master of prose and poetry, and the wise counselor'.[29] It was the result of his qualities, according to Rafi, that the men of letters acquire financial assistance from his

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[25] Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, pp. 46-47.

[26] Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, pp. 82-83.

[27] Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 11; Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, pp. 82-84; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Appendix-A, pp. 923-924; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 173.

[28] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[29] Ibid., pp. 47-48; Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, p. 84

hands and poets get inspiration from his verses. People, who were facing starvation, received free meals from his kitchen.[30]

After praising his patron, Rafi narrates the reason behind the compilation of *Dastur-ul-Afazil*. He describes it in much detail that, 'He used to read for his master the books of history compiled of leading scholars and narrate the achievements and cultural attainments of the historical personages. In one of the meetings, the Sadr Shamsuddin points out the hurdles in acquiring knowledge owing to the lack of familiarity with the words and phrases, the verses of the poets of the classical age were difficult to understand. Thus the people could not appreciate them properly. Thereupon, the servant (Rafi) mentioned the *Farhangnama* of Fakhr-ud-Daula-wal-Din Mubarak Shah Ghaznavi, alias Kamangar. The Sadr said that there is no doubt (about the merit of the work) but it is very brief and can not be helpful to the beginners. Sensing the desire of his patron, Rafi decided to undertake the project himself. Then he studied the standard works on anthologies, treatises on religions as well as secular sciences along with the writings of Maulana Ruknuddin and books on prosody.[31]

Thus, it is very much clear from the above statement of Rafi, that he was encouraged by Shamsuddin Jajniri to compile a very comprehensive work which could explain the difficult words of Persian for the use of migrants, who

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[30] Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, p. 50; Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, pp. 83-84.

[31] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

came from Delhi to Daulatabad in Deccan.[32] The work was compiled on the line of a work earlier composed during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji by Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah Qawwas, namely *Farhang-i-Qawwas*[33]. Rafi's work was more detailed than the earlier lexicographer, as he added some more important details. His work is in ornate Persian prose, which was the fashion of the time. He completed his work in 743 A.H. / 1344 A.D. and presented it to his patron Malik Shamsuddin.[34]

Another significant aspect regarding the compilation of *Dastur-ul-Afazil* was the collection of books which he had used for its compilation. He says that he borrowed the *Diwan* (collection of poems) of great poets who were famous for their mastery over sciences and studied them form the beginning to the end. He mentioned the names of the poets, such as Maulana Zahir Faryabi, Mujiruddin Bailqani, Jamal, Kamlauddin Safahani, Anwari, Sinai, Ruhani, Sozni, Nizami Ganjavi's *Masnavi Khamsa*, Firduasi's *Shahnāmā* (most popular work of his age), Khaqani and Imam Nasiri. Besides them, he also mentions some Indo-Persian poets and their works which were utilized by him, as well as the dictionaries of different languages, such as *Tāzi* (Arabic), *Turki*, *Mughli*, *Pehlavi*, *Parsi*, *Afghani*, *Jahudi* (Hebrew), *Tarsai* (Christian's), *Nusrani* and the dialect, spoken in the Hejaz and Transoxiana.[35] Thus, it shows that a wide variety of works were available to the author and he did not find it difficult to

[32] Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Appendix-A, p. 924; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 173.

[33] For the details of this work, see, Fakhruddin Mubarak Qawwas, *Farhang-i-Qawwas*, ed. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Rampur, 1999.

[34] Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, p. 82, 83-84.

[35] For details of sources, see Rafi, *Dastur-ul-Afazil*, pp. 56-57.

collect these Persian classics in Deccan, where the Muslims had recently settled down.[36]

Thus, the *Dastur-ul-Afazil* of Rafi is a significant work which helps us understand certain terms and names of the commodities, imported and exported during the period. The author also mentions the socio-cultural condition with emphasis on education, literary activities of the aristocracy and the diffusion of Indo-Muslim learning in South India.[37]

Another important literary personality amongst the Tughluqid nobility was Malik Ain ul-Mulk, commonly known as Ain ul-Mulk Mahru.[38] According to Afif he was very competent and able *amir*. He was the statesman who figured in the list of important officers of the Tughluqs. He served in Multan during Firuz Shah's period and was later appointed *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik* at the centre.[39] Afif refers Ain-ul-Mulk as compiler of a number of works on different sciences, among them the most popular work was *Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulki* commonly known as *Insha-i-Mahru*. It was the collection of letters, which testifies his literary skill and is regarded as the models of the age.[40] It is worth

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[36] Siddiqui, *Historical Significance*, p. 85.

[37] Ibid., pp. 82-84, 86.

[38] His full name was 'Malik-ush-Sharq ul-Wuzara Ain-ul-Mulk Ain-ud-Daula Abdullah Mahru'. See, Ain ul-Mulk, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Letter no. 3; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 64.

[39] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 488; Eng. tr., p. 226; Barani *Tarikh*, pp. 424, 454, 485, 528; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 124; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqāt*, p. 115; G.D. Gulali, *Role of North-West Frontier Governors in the Court Politics During the 13th and 14th Centuries*, Proc. I.H.C., Waltair, 1979, pp. 288-289; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 64.

[40] Ibid., pp. 488, 409-410; Eng. tr., p. 226; Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughluq*, p. 180; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 288; N.N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India*, London, 1916, p. 66; R. C. Jauhri, *Learning and Literature during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq* (1351-1388), Islamic Culture, vol. xli, Oct. 1967, p. 245; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 32.

noting that the works on practical letter writing formed part of the curriculum throughout the Sultanate period because it provided a model for official letter writing.[41]

In the preface of his work, *Insha-i-Mahru*, Ain ul-Mulk narrates that he had been writing letters for sometime and those letters were commended by some of his friends. They wanted the copies of these letters to be preserved considering them as the models of epistolary branch of literature so highly prized, and so carefully cultivated all over the Muslim world. Yielding to the demand of his friends, Ain ul-Mulk compiled a collection of those letters, which were scattered. Thus the collection is widely known as *Insha-i-Mahru* or *Tarassul-i-Ain-ul-Mulki.*[42]

In the view of Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Ain ul-Mulk was a man of refinement and culture having fine literary taste and was perfect in the humanities of the day. The letters of Ain ul-Mulk bear testimony to his deep erudition and profound learning as well as his wide knowledge of history, muslim jurisprudence, theology and literature. Ain ul-Mulk appears master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric having profound knowledge of the Quran, *Hadis* (sayings of the Holy Prophet), *Fiqh* and Arabic and Persian classics. Thus, the quotations from the Quran and references to some classics were always found in his letters.[43]

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[41] Nigam, *Administrative Training*, p. 91.

[42] Ain ul-Mulk, *Insha-i-Mahru*, p. 1.

[43] Ibid, (Introduction by editor), pp. 12-13.

Consequently, the value of the work may be judged with the statement of a modern scholar that this work is a veritable source of information for the administrative and cultural history of the 14th century.[44]

The Tughluqid noble Tatar Khan (adopted son of Sultyan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq), was the governor of Zafarabad.[45] He was a poet and used to compose verses.[46] Once owing to some misunderstanding, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah became angry with him, and banished from the royal court and transferred him to another place. He composed a verse on his departure describing his feelings and sent it to the Sultan. The Sultan praised these verses and called him back and honoured him with gifts.[47]

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[44] Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 65.

[45] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 423, 428, 451, 454, 527; Afif says that Tatar Khan was from a trust worthy Turkish race. Wife of the ruler of Khurasan gave birth to a child, when he invaded Dipalpur and Multan territories. Sultan Tughluq pounced upon Khurasani troops and began a general slaughter. Khurasani army was defeated and fled away. The child was left behind in the cradle diving the flight. Army brought this child to the Sultan Tughluq, who brought him up like his son and named him Tatar Malik. Cf. *Tarikh*, pp. 388-89; during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Tatar Malik became a brave soldier and was assigned to the centre of the army. Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 389; He was the Muqti of Hissar Firuzah. Cf. Ibid., p. 148; Tatar Khan was assigned the post of muqti of Sonargaon during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. See, Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 133; Zafarabad was also assigned to him Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 130. See, Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Part I, p. 352, f. 397 b, Part II, p. 227, f. 417 a; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 125; He also enjoyed one post of Shiqqdar of Multan to Ghazni. See, Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 124, 127; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 231; Later he became the governor of Lahore and bore the title of Bahram Khan. See, Ishwari Prasad, *Qaranuh Turks*, p. 151; Khan, *History of Sadarat*, p. 180.

[46] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 388, 390,393; Eng. tr., p. 228.

The said khan had written a couplet in love of God –

گفتی کہ تتار خاں دیرینہ غلام نست   انما زچنان کردی گوئی کہ نمیدانی

("You said that Tatar Khan was an ancient slave, but behaved as if you did not know.")

[47] The verse was:

وہ ندانم از کجا رنجیدہ   بے سبب از دوستان بریدہ

("He does not know as to why I am sad, for no fault have I been separated from my friends.") Cf. Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 390; Eng. tr., p. 219.

Another prominent noble who was intelligent, able, accomplished writer as well as poet was Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija, the *Mustanfi-i-Mamalik*, under Sultan Firuz Shah.[48] He composed few collections of poems and presented them to the Sultan. On the basis of his literary skill, he claimed superiority over the compilations of the late Shaikh Sa'adi of Shirāz.[49] Later historians Yahya Sirhindi, Badaoni and Nizamuddin Ahmad had quoted in their works, the quatrains composed by Shamsuddin Abu Rija on the occasion of hunting expedition of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq.[50]

A Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta, the then *Qazi* of Delhi, wrote a long ode in praise of the Sultan and presented it to the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.[51] These were some of the prominent nobles, who themselves were

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[48] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 454, 497; Eng. tr., pp. 247, 268-269.

[49] Ibid., pp.460-61; Eng. tr., p. 250; Banerjee, *Firuz Shah Tughluq*, p. 181; Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuzshah*, p. 33.

[50] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Eng. tr. Basu, p. 136; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 247; Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 329-330; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 116; Eng. tr., p. 247. The verse that is quoted by them is –

شاہی کہ از حق دولت پاینده گرفت
اطراف جہاں چو مہر تابنده گرفت
از بہر شکار فیل در جاجنگر
آمد دو بکشت سی و سہ زنده گرفت

[51] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. iii, p. 750. The English translation of his verse is as follows:

"Commander of the faithful, Lord revered
To thee we come, through deserts towards thee hasting.
A pilgrim I thy glory's shrine to visit.
A refuge meets for sanctuary thy dwelling.
Had majesty a rank above the sun.
Fit pattern went thou for its most excelling.
Thou art the Imam, unique and glorious, even.
Thy words infallibly with deeds investing.
I am in need, thy bounty's overflow
My hope, and by thy greatness eased my questing
Shall I declare it – or thy blush suffices?
- To say 'Thy bounty's plash' were seemlier punning.
Make speed to aid the notary to thy shrine.
And put this debt – the creditors are dunning."

involved in the literary activities. The other group of scholars of the Tughluqid Sultanate those were patronized by the Tughluqid nobles has been discussed below:-

Among the patronized scholars the name of Kamal Karim Nagauri comes first. He was the compiler of a Persian work on *Fiqh* known as *Majmu-i-Khani.* The work is dedicated to 'Ulugh Quthigh-i-Azam Muazzam Bahram Khan'.[52] Qutlgh Khan, tutor of the Sultan, was the governor of Daulatabad,[53] the new capital founded by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

The date of the compilation is not mentioned, but Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq is highly praised in the preface of the work, for founding Daulatabad (the new capital) and adding to the glory of Islam.[54] The reference left no doubt that the work was compiled during Tughluqid period. The work deals with the legal problems of varied nature especially with those connected with four pillars of Islam. Author also claimed that he took up about twenty-five thousand problems for the discussion.[55] Regarding the compilation of this work on *Fiqh*, the author says that although there were collection of works in Arabic and Persian but the common people found it difficult to use the Arabic books. So, the work *Majmu-i-Khāni* written in Persian would be helpful for them.[56] Thereafter he gave a list of one hundred thirty one works which he used as the

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[52] Kamal Karim, *Majmu-i-Khani*, (MSS M.A. Library), ff. 2-3; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 122; Zafarul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 9.

[53] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 481; Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh*, f. 401 a, Hindi tr., part I, p. 354; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 106; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 231.

[54] For more details See, *Majmu-i-Khani*, MSS. M.A. Library, f.1.

[55] Zafār ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 9.

[56] *Majmu-i-Khani*, MSS., M.A. Library, f. 3.

source books in the compilation of *Majmu-i-Khāni*. These included:- *al-Hidāya, Fatāwa-i-Khāni, Jāmā-i-Saghiri, Fatāwā-i-Husāmi, Fatāwā-i-Sirajiah, Fatāwā-i-Hujjat, Khurasat-al-Fiqh, Khazanat-al-Fiqh, Ihya-al-Ulum, Jama-i-Kabiri, Fatāwa-i-Kabiri, Fatāwā-i- Zahiri, Fatāwā-i-Khāssi, Zia-ul-Fatāwā, Tafsir-i-Imām Abu Hafsa, Tafsir-i-Ghiyāsi, Tafsir-i-Imām Zāhidi, Fatāwā-i-Ghiyāsi* and so on.[57] The significance of these sources may be judge from the fact that most of these works are also mentioned in the preface of *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani,* as its source.[58]

Malik Tatar Khan, the leading noble under the Tughluq Sultan, as well as the Muqti of Zafarabad,[59] was the known person behind the compilation of two famous works i.e. *Tafsir-i-Tatar Khani* and *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani.*

These works were unknown to the scholars, until the introductory reference was given by Riyasat Ali Nadvi in his significant article, '*Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan aur Uski Yadgar ilmi Khidmat'*, in *Ma'ārif* in 1932. According to him, these enlarged works, *Tasfir-i-Tatarkhani* and *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani,* were compiled with the same point of view. The *Tasfir-i-Tatarkhani* is a collection of all the previous Arabic works on *Tafsir*. Moreover in this work, the views of the Ulamas on the *Ayāt* of the Quran have been mentioned with their names.[60] Regarding *Tafsir-i-TatarKhani*, Afif says that

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[57] *Majmu-i-Khani*, MSS., M.A. Library, ff. 3-4; Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 10.

[58] Maulana Alim bin Ala al-Andapatti, *Fatawa-i-TatarKhania*, ed. Qazi Sajjad Husain, Vol. I, Dairul Ma'arif, Hyderabad, 1984, p. 68.

[59] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 428, 454.

[60] Riyasat Ali Nadvi, '*Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan aur Uski Yadgar ilmi Khidmat,* Ma'arif, Azamgarh, Feb. 1932, No. 2, p. 96.

Tatar Khan used to extend his patronage to the learned men. He organized a syndicate of writers (*Ulama*) to prepare a *Tafsir* (Commentary) on *Quran*. For this purpose he had collected all the available commentaries on *Quran* and consulted all the *Ulama* of the Sultanate. So for every Quranic verse, several commentaries on it were collected and put together. In this compilation, he included different interpretations of various *Ulama* on delicate points. Thus, this work consisted of differences in the interpretations of the *Quran* within the orthodox (*Sunni*) creed.[61] It was written by a board of *Ulama*, on the demand of Malik Tatar Khan,[62] which negates the view of the author of *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir* who writes that *Tafsir-i-Tatarkhani* was written by Tatar Khan himself.[63]

In the view of K.A. Nizami, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania* was the greatest achievement of the Sultanate period on *Fiqh*, which surpassed all other works on Jurisprudence.[64] Riyasat Ali Nadvi wrote an article on this work and introduced it to the scholars.[65] Other scholars and cataloguers started giving references about the work and its compiler.[66] The manuscripts of the work

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[61] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392; eng. tr., pp. 220; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 32; Habib and Nizami, *Comprehensive History*, p. 613; Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246; Rashid, *Society and*, p. 170; R.C. Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq* (1351-1388 A.D.), Agra, 1968, p. 159.

[62] Ibid., p. 392; Nadvi, *Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan*, 1932, p. 96.

[63] Cf. Syed Abdul Hai bin Fakhruddin Hasni, '*Nuzhat-ul-Khwātir*, Vol. II, Hyderabad, 1350 A.H., p. 19; Manazir Ahsan Gilani', *Hindustani Musalmānon ka Nizam-i-Taleem-wa Tarbiyat*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1944, p. 143.

[64] Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 58.

[65] Riyasat Ali Nadvi, *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania ke Muta'aliq*, Ma'arif, March 1947, No. 59, pp. 165-180.

[66] See Abdul Hameed, '*Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Baksh O.P. Library*, Patna, 1994, 33/14-15, no. 33; Imtiaz Ali Arshi, '*Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in Raza Library*', Rampur, 1968, II/240, no. 2454; Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in British Museum*, London, 1894, pp. 751, no. 1199.

preserved in different libraries.[67] Qazi Sajjad Husain edited the work which was published from Dairat-ul-Ma'arif al-Usmaniah, Hyderabad in 1984. A significant Arabic bibliographical work *Kashf-ul-Zunun*, referring to *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani*, gave information that during the 10th century of *Hijra* era Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad al-Halbi, who was a Syrian scholar, prepared a summary of this work.[68] It shows the popularity and importance of this work. The author of *Kashf-ul-Zunun* furnishes the information quite opposite from the view of Afif. Thus, in view of Haji Khalifah, the *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania* is the work of Imam-i-Fiqh Alim bin 'Ala Hanafi is in many volumes. It is also recorded that it was compiled by the order of Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan and the work is famous as *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania*. But the compiler of the work called it *Zād-ul-Musafir*.[69] On other place while describing *Zād-ul-Musafir*, Haji Khalifah again says that this work is on *Fiqh* and is also known with the name of *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania*, which is the compilation of Maulana Alim bin Ala al Hanafi.[70] However, the opinion of Afif is quite different from him. He (Afif) says that Tatar Khan got prepared an authentic *Fatawa*. Various books on *Fatawa* available in Delhi were collected and the views and interpretations of the Muftis on each and every issue were incorporated. The said collection is called *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*. The differences of opinion expressed by various

[67] Fihrist-i-Kutub-i-Arabi, Farsi, wa Urdu, Kutub Khana Asifiyah, Hyderabad, II/1052-1054, no. 58-66; Khuda Baksh O.P. Library, Patna, 33/14-15, no. 33; Raza Library, Rampur, 111/240, no. 2454; Maulana Azad, Library, Aligarh, Abdul Hai collection, Fiqh, Arabi, no.413/121. British Museum, London (Rieu, 1139); Bankipur (19/14-16, No. 1715-1719).

[68] Haji Khalifah Chelpi, *Kashf-ul-Zunun*, Vol. I, Karachi, p. 268; Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa literature*, p. 89.

[69] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 268; Nadvi, *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*, p. 167.

[70] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 947.

Muftis were referred to in along with their name. This collection of *Fatawa* consisted of thirty volumes which was a great achievement of the time.[71]

Regarding the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*, there are differences of opinion among the scholars. Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, said that the work is dedicated to Tatar Khan by Maulana Alim Andapathi, who was the noble of Sultan Alauddin Khalji.[72] While, the other scholar treated it as a work of some Tatar Sultans of Central Asia.[73] In view of others it is as a study of comparative jurisprudence in thirty volumes with a digest of all the *Fatawa* that had been issued under the previous Sultans of Delhi.[74] On the other hand, the eighteenth century scholar says that it was originally called *Zād-ul-Musafir* and later ascribed to Tatar Khan and then called *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*.[75] But the modern scholars rejected all these views.[76]

All scholars agree that the *Fatawa-i-TatarKhania* is the compilation of Maulana Alim bin Ala' al-Andapati (or Dehlavi, Andapati is called because Inderprasthwas the old name of Delhi), at the instance of Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan.[77] The writer of the preface of *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania* has not given his

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[71] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392.

[72] Abdul Haq Dehlavi, (Biographical work, the name is not give), translated by Elliot and Dowson, in *History of India*, vol. VI, Allahabad, 1964, pp. 486-487.

[73] Gilani, *Hindustani Musalmanon*, p. 143.

[74] Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.

[75] Haji Khalifah, *Kashf*, Vol. I, p. 268.

[76] For an analytical study of *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani*, see, Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 91.

[77] Sajjad Husain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania*, Preface by the editor, p. 28; Haji Khalifah, *Kashf*, Vol. I, p. 268, vol. 2, p. 947; Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 22; Abdul Haq Dehlavi, Treatise, pp. 486-487; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 117; Fakhruddin Hasni, *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, vol. 2, pp. 67-68; Nadvi, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani*, pp. 171-172.

name but he has used first person singular pronoun for himself as he states, "I arranged its chapters on the pattern of *al-Hidayah* and named it *al-Fatawa-al-Tatarkhania*".[78]

Thus, it resolved the problem of the compilation of the *Fatawa*, which according to Afif was a joint work of a board of *Ulama.*[79] Alim bin Ala' al-Hanafi, commonly called Maulana Alim bin Ala Andapatti may be considered as the head of this board.[80] It is quite impossible to believe that a single person could compile such a voluminous work consisting of thirty volumes. Thus, Afif's view is reasonably acceptable that a board of *Ulama* was called to compile the work and Maulana Alim would be the head of that board.[81]

It is worthnoting that the Tughluqid noble like Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan was much interested in the compilation of a work on *Fiqh*, for which he had collected various books on *Fatawa* available at Delhi. Different views and interpretations of the Muftis were freely incorporated within this work, and the differences of opinions expressed by various *Muftis* were referred to in it along with their names.[82] The compiler mentioned some of the sources of this work in his preface. These works are *al-Fatawa-i-Khania*, *Fatawa-i-Zahiria*, *Jama-ul-Fatawa*, *al-Hidaya*, *Fatawa-al-Atabiya*, *Fatawa-i-Sirajuddin*, *Khazanat-ul-*

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[78] Sajjad Husain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania*, p. 68.

رتبت أبوابه على ترتيب الهداية وسميته بالفتاوى التاتارخانية

[79] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392.

[80] Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 91; Nadvi, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhania*, pp. 171-172.

[81] Ibid., As *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* was compiled by the board of scholars headed by Shaikh Nizam during the reign of Aurangzeb.

[82] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392; Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 92.

Fiqh, *Fatawa-i-Kabiri*, *Fatawa-i-Saghiri*.[83] The other works like *Fatawa-i-Ahl-i-Samarqand*, *Fatawa-i-Aahu*, *Fatawa-i-Biqali*,[84] *Fatawa-i-Sadr-ul-Shaheed*,[85] and *Fatawa-i-Mawra-un Nahr*[86] are also mentioned in this *Fatawa*. Though a number of books were available, yet the statement of the compiler that he had arranged its chapters on the pattern of *al-Hidaya* shows that it was the main work took up by the compiler.[87] It further sheds light on the availability of the religious treatises in India during the Tughluqid period.[88]

Tatar Khan was well versed in *Shariat* (Islamic law) and he worked hard to get the meaning of these three subjects: *Tafsir*, *Fatawa* and *Shariat*.[89]

Thus, *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani* is significant because of its contents, which covers such contemporary social and religious issues as the prayers, fosterage, divorce, maintenance, manumission of slaves, oaths, international relations, fixed punishments, apostates, absconding slaves, missing persons, partnership and endowment.[90] The work is better called as an encyclopaedic work of *Fiqh*.[91]

Conclusively, among the Tughluqid nobles Tatar Khan had earned his

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83 Sajjad Hussain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania*, p. 68.

84 Haji Khalifah, *Kashf*, vol. ii, p. 1221.

85 Ibid, p. 1224.

86 Ibid., p. 1229.

87 Sajjad Hussain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani*, vol. I, p. 68.

88 Gilani, *Hindustani Musalman*, vol. I, p. 38.

89 Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 392.

90 For the details of contents, see, Sajjad Hussain (ed.), *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*, vol. I

91 Zafar ul-Islam, *Fatawa Literature*, p. 88.

fame as a compiler as well as the patron of the compilers.

The other leading noble of the Tughluq period was Malik Ain-ul-Mulk, who was a literary person of the age.[92] According to some modern scholars he had patronized the poet Mutahhar of Kara.[93] But Mutahhar has not directly mentioned the name of his patron in his *Diwan*.[94] However, a large number of *Qasida* (Panegyrics) in praise of Ainu l-Mulk indirectly suggests that the poet was patronized by this noble.[95] Besides him, Mutahhar also wrote a number of *Qasidas* in praise of Malik Husamuddin and Karimuddin, sons of Ain-ul-Mulk.[96] The *Qasidas* of Mutahhar also shows that he get in *inam* a village and a horse from Ain-ul-Mulk,[97] which is a further testimony of his patron.

Mutahhar had thus composed several *Qasidas* in praise of his patron Malik Ain-ul-Mulk, while staying in Awadh. It indicates that it was the zenith of his career under the patronage of Ain-ul-Mulk, and he could also see his further rise in official hierarchy.[98] Modern scholars considered him as the best poet of the age.[99] According to Badaoni, he had composed about fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but he regarded Mutahhar more a '*Mullā*' than a

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[92] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 485; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 124; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 115.

[93] Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, Part. II, Introduction, p. 14; Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 288.

[94] Mutahhar, *Diwan*, ed. Abdur Razzaq, Patna, 1998.

[95] Ibid., *Qasida* no. 8, pp. 15-18; no. 10, pp. 22-27; no. 15, pp. 45-48; no. 19, pp. 56-57; no. 22, pp. 61-65; no. 41, pp. 129-134; no. 62, pp. 182-187; no .82, pp. 214-215; pp. 224, 231, 285, 282-303, 338.

[96] Cf. Ibid., p. 14; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 78; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuzshah*, p. 32.

[97] Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, part II, p. 14.

[98] Mutahhar, *Diwan*, Introduction by Editor, p. 15; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 288.

[99] Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246; Riaz ul-Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, p. 32; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 78.

'poet'.[100] Because he did not find something good in his work.

While in opinion of Bihamid Khani, he was the *Khatm-ush-'Shura* (the last of the great poets), and a favourite of the Sultan, as every year he recited beautiful *Qasidas* in praise of Sultan at his court and received awards and favours.[101]

Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, the Wazir of Firuz Shah Tughluq,[102] was a great patron of learning. He was interested in poetry.[103] Maulana Daud of Dalmau compiled his famous Hindi *Masnavi Chandāyan*[104] under his patronage.[105] Badaoni praises *Chandāyan* in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh.*[106] The authors of this *masnavi* furnished very little information about him. He completed this work in 772 A.H. / 1373 A.D. during the reign of Firuz Shah at Dalmau when Malik Mubarak son of Malik Bayo, was the chief of the town.[107] He dedicated his work to Khan-i-Jahan Juman Shah,[108] as is evident in *Chandāyan* when he used the term *Khond* resembling the Persian term *Khāwind*, for Khan-i-Jahan. It shows that Khan-i-Jahan was the patron of

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[100] Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 257; Eng. tr, Vol. I, p. 341; Riaz ul Islam, *Age of Firuz Shah*, pp.32-33; Banerjee, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 181, Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246.

[101] Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi,* Eng. tr., p. 23.

[102] Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 250

[103] Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 159; Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246.

[104] Several MSS at Bhopal, Maner, Kala Bhavan, Bikaner and Shimla are found. These are edited by Dr. Vishwanath Prasad, K.M. Institute, Agra, 1962; Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta, Agra, 1967; Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Bombay, 1964.

[105] M. Ishaque, *Persian Literature*, in *History and Culture of India* (*The Delhi Sultanate*), ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1960, p. 538.

[106] Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 250.

[107] Mulla Daud, *Chandāyan*, ed. Mata Prasad Gupta, Stuti – Khanda, no. 17, pp. 15-16.

[108] Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 250; Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 237, note no. 2; Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246; Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 159.

Maulana Daud.[109]

In *Chandāyan*, we witnessed the account of love of Lurak and Chandā in a very graphic manner. He describes the city of Govar, birth and marriage of Chandā with Bawan, contact with brave Lorik, and her romance with Lorik.[110] *Masnavi* of Maulana Daud continued to attract the attention till the reign of Akbar.[111] Badaoni writes that there is no need for him to praise it, because of its great fame in the country. Makhdum Shaikh Taqi-ud-Din Waiz Rabbani used to read occasionally some verses of it from the pulpit or member. Hearing of it produced a strange effect on the people. And when certain learned men of the period asked the Shaikh the reason of choosing the Hindi *Masnavi*, he replied that the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers and comfortable to the interpretation of some of the *āyats* (verses) of the *Quran*, and the moreover human hearts were captivated by its public recitation.[112]

However *Chandāyan* is a long poem in early Awadhi and the manuscript fragments dating from mid 16th century have been found to transcribe Awadhi in Perso-Arabic script.[113] It is based on the folk song of the eastern part of the

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[109] Mata Prasad Gupta (ed.), *Chandāyan*, Stuti Khanda no. 10, p. 9.

[110] Ibid., pp. 16-29, 29-40, 132-219.

[111] Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246.

[112] Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, Vol. I, p. 250; Eng. tr., p. 333; Badaoni quoted by Jauhri, *Firuz Shah*, p. 159; Jauhri, *Learning and Literature*, p. 246; Ishaque, *Persian Literature*, p. 538.

[113] Sujit Mukherjee, *A Dictionary of Indian Literature*, (One) (Beginnings – 1850), Orient Longman, p. 68. The story was popular enough to be translated into Magadhi, Maithili and Bangla languages.

country even it influenced the later poets like Jayasi of *Padmāvat.*[114]

In patronizing the literary personages, the name of Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija is much significant. Under his patronage a known Persian work on Music, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* (Pleasure of Desire), was completed.[115] In the preface of this work, the anonymous author gives the name of reigning Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. The author further refers Malik Shamsuddin Ibrahim Hasan Abu Rija, the governor of Gujarat, at whose instance he composed the work '*Ghunyat-ul-Munya*'.[116] The author praised his patron Abu Rija for his literary taste and support to the scholars.[117] While Afif is much critical to Abu Rija for his other wrong doings.[118]

It is believed that the author purposely remained anonymous as a gesture of self effacement, since in praise to his patron he seems to be almost on the point of disclosing his identity.[119] However in the preface of the work the author describes the circumstances in which this book was written by him.

The author states that in 776 A.H./1374-75 A.D., Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija was appointed the governor of Gujarat, and undertook the administration of that province. The noble was in touch with the royal court for

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[114] *Encyclopedia of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Sahitya Academy, 1988, p. 1291; Vol. 5, 1992, p. 4205.

[115] Shahab Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* (*the earliest known Persian work on Indian Music*), Bombay, 1978; Mrs. Khursheed Nurul Hasan introduced this work by her significant article *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* (*the earliest Persian Manuscript on Indian Music*), Proc. I.H.C., Delhi, 1961, (pp. 177-179).

[116] Ibid., p. 3; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 130.

[117] Ibid., p. 4, ff. 2b; Khursheed N. Hasan, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, pp. 178-179.

[118] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 477, 478-79, 483, 485, 486, 488-89.

[119] Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, Introduction, pp. 5-6.

many years, so the administration of his province was on the basis of the traditions of *Sharia* (Islamic Law), and on the laws of equity and justice. It resulted in the prosperity and happiness among the common people all through the province. He further informs that when his patron felt the pressure of hard-work; he found relief in listening Persian *Sama* and Hindi *Sarod.* His companions, sometimes, would enquire from him the meanings of the complex verses, which he used to explain in detail with great elegance. Occasionally he elaborated with great ability the complicated details of music.[120] Considering ignorance of his companions about music, Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija asked the author to compile a work on the intricacies of music. The author thereupon decided to write a book on music. Thus, Malik Shamsuddin had brought together at his court, the group of singers and musicians, a large number of experts of the Hindi language, players of different musical instruments and exponents of various forms of music from distant places to help the author. He consulted all of them in his compilation. He also mentions names of some of Indian books on music which were available to him. These works were – *Bharata*, *Sangit-Ratnakara*, *Sangit–Ratnavali*, *Sangit-Binod*, *Sangit-Mudra*, *Satanak*, and *Raga Avarna.*[121] However, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* seems to have been compiled for the purpose of a compendium on music, as the author says that all art in its details and fundamentals with ramifications are manifested in

[120] Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, pp. 3-4; Khursheed N. Hasan, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, p. 178; Nizami, *Supplement*, p. 130.

[121] Ibid., pp. 13-14; Khursheed N. Hasan, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, p. 178; Rashid *Society and Culture*, pp. 109.

it.[122] The work also gives an idea about the understanding of the essentials and fundamentals of music among the nobility of that period.[123] In this work, the author confines himself to an exposition of Indian Music, for he had discussed the Arabo-Persian musical system in a book already written by him on the basis of an Arabic work named *Farid-ul-Zaman-fil-Ma'ārefat-i-Ilham* (Unique of the age regarding knowledge of melodic modes).[124] Thus, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* is not only a known earliest Persian work on 'Music' that gives information about musical theory, but also a significant work of cultural history. It reveals the prevalence of the popular Sanskrit works on music, musical instruments, musical forms in the ruling circle of the 14th century.[125]

Thus, the work is the evidence of musical assemblies at the royal court, where music and dance were essential.[126] Inspite of the religious prohibition, the muslims were attracted by it. The Sultans, the nobles and saints cultivated a good taste for it. That is why *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* was composed under the patronage of a noble of Firuz Shah Tughluq.[127]

To conclude, on account of the literary activities of the Tughluqid nobles and their patronage to poets and scholars significant works on different subjects were produced. Each work is significant because of its historical value,

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122 Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, Introduction, pp. 1, 4.

123 Ibid.

124 Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 109.

125 Sarmadee (ed), *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, p. 7, Introduction; Khursheed N. Hasan, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, pp. 178-179.

126 Ibid., p. 7.

127 Muhammad Zaki, *Muslim Society in Northern India During the 15th and first half of the 16th century*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 32, note no. 81.

subject matter, and literary skill. The subjects chosen by these nobles and their patronized scholars were Indian tales, *Masnavis*, *Qasidas* (Panegyric), *Farhang* literature (Lexicographical work), *Insha* (letter writing), *Fiqh* (Religious literature) *Tafsir* (Commentary on Quran), *Fatāwā* (Muslim Jurisprudence), and music. Thus the contribution of the Tughluqid nobility in the field of literature is quite remarkable.

Chapter-8

Construction Activities under the Tughluq Nobility

Epigraphical evidence indicates that the nobles under the Tughluqs participated in construction activities, on a large scale. Both kinds of buildings, religious and secular, were constructed by them. Some of them still survived. For this purpose a well organized building department existed. The chief architect was designated as *Shahna-i-Imarat* and *Mir-i-Imarat*. The chief architect, with support of the other officials and skilled workers was responsible to look after the civil engineering works. However, the building department was probably headed by Malikzadah Ahmad bin Ayaz[1] as *Shahna-i-Imarat* (the Chief Architect) and Malik Ghazi Shahna as *Mir-i-Imarat* (Chief Architect) during the Tughluqid period. They worked with great energy and effort in building works and were awarded a golden staff as a token of their skill and efficiency.[2] The deputies of *Mir-i-Imarat* were also awarded a golden mace.[3] Technical branch of the building department, such as masonry, carpentry, black, smithy and stone cutting was headed by a skilled superintendent. Plans of buildings prepared by the building department were examined by the finance department *(Diwan-i-Wazarat)*, and then adequate

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[1] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 454, 424, 527; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, pp. 227, 237; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp.386, 412, 413, 420; Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 654-655; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, pp. 87-88.

[2] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 331; Eng. tr., p. 188; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, pp. 88-89, 98; R. Nath, *History of Sultanate Architecture*, Delhi, 1978, p. 60; Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, pp. 160-161.

[3] Ibid., p. 331; Eng. tr. p. 188.

funds were allotted to the architects.[4]

Another architect of the Tughluq period was Malik Zahir-ul-Juyush,[5] whose name is connected with the construction of Khurramabad, though no trace of this palace has survived.[6] He was an architect of great skill who introduced four-iwān plan for Sultan's Jami Mosque. It seems that he was an Iranian architect employed by the Sultan.[7] Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul[8] and his son Junan Shah,[9] Wazirs of Sultan Firuz Shah were also responsible for the construction of large number of mosques, some of which have survived.[10] The mosques constructed by them were of a uniform pattern, with slight variations, built with rubble stone and plaster, having strongly fortified gateways, multi-domed roofing with round turreted corners. These mosques had square quartzite pillars as the doors and roofs and a general courtyard surrounded by a strong enclosure round it.[11]

Since the Sultans themselves were involved in the construction activities, the nobles and officials also followed the royal practice and constructed buildings at a large scale at different places. Thus, the inscription

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[4] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 331; Eng. tr., p. 188; Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, pp. 160-161.

[5] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 454.

[6] Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, p. 55-56; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 54.

[7] Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 88.

[8] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 397, 405, 422.

[9] Ibid., p. 426.

[10] Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, pp. 22, 25. These mosques are Jami Masjid at Kotla Firuzabad (1354), Kali Masjid (1370) at Nizamuddin, Kalan Masjid (1375) in Shahjahanabad, Khirki Masjid and Begumpuri Masjid (1387).

[11] For details see Ibid., p. 25; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Mumbai, 1997, p. 21.

of the Jami Masjid at Jalor records that it was constructed by Shaban Hasan Qizilbash, in 1323 A. D. Shaban Hasan was the *Gumashta* (revenue officer) of Jalor, during the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.[12] This mosque is of a considerable size, built on Arab type plan, using material from old Jain and Hindu temples.[13] Daulat Shah Muhammad al-Butamari,[14] the prominent noble of the Tughluq is said to have constructed several buildings, especially the Jami mosque of Cambay (in Gujarat) in 1325 A.D. and Idgah at Broach in 1320 A. D. out of his own resources.[15] Its spacious design and fine proportion illustrates the assertion of the muslim constructional traditions with infusion of the local style.[16] As governor of Gujarat, he constructed another Jami Masjid at Broach in 1321 A.D.[17] This mosque is different from the established architectural design of Delhi and Multan displaying much regional influence. Locally available material was used in construction. These structures were supervised

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[12] For the details see, *Epigraphia Indica* (*Arabic and Persian Supplement*) ed. Z.A. Desai, 1949-50, p. 32; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Vol. 49, (Rajasthan), London, 1986, p. 46; Z.A. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, Jaipur, 1971 p. 88, no. 280; A. R. I. E., 1966-67, D-191.

[13] For the details of building see, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 46.

[14] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 424; Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 414, 435, 440; Ibn Battuta also a mentions Malik Daulat, see, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 755.

[15] Mahdi Husain, *Six Inscriptions of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah*, E. I. A. P. S., 1957-58, ed. Z.A. Desai, pp. 29-34.

[16] Z.A. Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, Delhi, 1970, p. 19. For the architectural features of the structure, see, James Furgussan, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1891, pp. 537; E.B. Havell, *Indian Architecture: its Psychology, Structure and History*. London, 1913, pp. 51-52.

[17] M. Nazim, *Inscription from the Bombay Presidency*, E. I. A. P. S. 1933-34, pp. 25-26; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 15.

by Tajuddin Muhammad Baha ul-Mulk.[18]

During the governorship of Malik Qutlugh *Sardāwidar-i-Khāss,* a Jami Masjid at Dholka in Gujarat was constructed by Qazi Hilal Khan with the help of Abdul Karim as an architect in 733 A.H. /1333 A.D.[19] Like Daulat Shah Butamari, another noble Malik Mufarrih Sultani, *Dawadar-i-Khāss* and *naib-i-iqta* of Cambay, constructed Jami Masjid at Dholka (commonly known as Tanka Masjid) with his own personal money.[20] The mosque has Indian type entrance porches with Indian style roofs and colonnades.[21] It is built with local trabeate system and have open pillared prayer hall. It is remarkable for the rich and varied carvings on its pillars and ceilings.[22]

Jami Masjid of Ladnun was reconstructed by Firuz of Dhansur, *Sipahsālar*, when Malik Dailan Sultani was the deputy administrative officer of Ladnun.[23]

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[18] Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, pp. 15, 19; Furgussan, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 537; Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 19; Jas. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat*, Varanasi, 1971, pp. 20-22; Nazim, *Inscriptions*, E. I. A. P. S., 1933-34, pp. 26-27.

[19] Mahdi Husain, *Six Inscriptions*, E. I. A. P. S., 1957-58, pp. 40-42; *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, Appendix-C, No.7 (hereafter cited as A. R. I. E.); For the details of building see, Furgussan, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp.537-538; Burgess, *Muhammdan Architecture*, pp.30-31; Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 20; Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 52.

[20] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 9-10, 10-12, 12-14; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 8: Appendix-C, no. 9; Appendix-C, no. 10. Second inscription refers to Malik Mufarrih Sultani as *naib* of the *Iqta* of Cambay. While the third inscription refers to the material used in its construction. For Malik Mufarrah Sultani entitled Farhat-ul-Mulk, See, Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117.

[21] Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 52.

[22] Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 19; for other details of the buildings refers to, Furgussan, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 538; Burguess, *Muhammdan Architecture*, pp. 33-34.

[23] A. Chaghtai, *Some Inscriptions from Jodhpur State, Rajputana*, E. I. A. P. S, 1949-50, pp. 18-19; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 62; Z.A. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscription of Rajasthan*, Jaipur, 1971, p. 100, no. 317; For Malik Dailan, see, Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 527; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 128, 318. He was Shiqqdar of Hissar Firuzah and then *Amir-i-Shikār* (chief of Hint) under Firuz Shah.

This mosque was originally a colonnade building round a central courtyard, a plan usually referred to as the Arab type.[24] While another Tughluq official Izzuddin son of Aram Shah, had constructed a Jami Mosque at Mangrol in 785 A.H. / 1383-84 A.D. He was the local governor.[25] The mosque is of considerable dimensions, undoubtedly finest in Gujarat state. This solid and massive building is built entirely of stone, having courtyard-cum-cloisters plan.[26] Furthermore, another inscription at Ravali Masjid records the construction of a Jami Masjid by a Tughluq noble, Malik Abdul Malik (son of Husam) entitled Makhdumzadah who was posted at Mangrol in some official capacity in 788 A.H. / 386-87 A.D.[27] This mosque is in trabeate style, with an open pillared façade and a large and pretentious porch fronting its main entrance.[28]

The construction of these mosques shows the involvement of nobles in patronizing building construction. Another remarkable Jami mosque at Irich (near Jhansi, modern U.P.) was constructed by Qazi Ziauddin, brother of Khan Junaid, the imperial *Jagirdar* of Delhi (in 1412 A.D.).[29] Besides other architectural feature, the main interest lies in the fact that the mosque

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[24] Mehrdad Shoroohy, *Hissār-i-Firuzah (Sultanate and early Mughal Architecture in the district of Hissār, India)*, Monograph on Art, Archeology and Architecture, South Asian Series, London, 1988, pp. 126-129.

[25] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 24-26; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 11; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 151; Barani mentions Malik Izzuddin *Haji Dabir*. See, *Tarikh*, p. 528. But it is difficult to match this Malik with the person mentioned by Barani.

[26] For more details, see, Z.A. Desai, *Mosques of India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 27; Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, p. 20.

[27] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 30-32. *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, pp. 13-14; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 135.

[28] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[29] A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ASI, Vol. ii, Varanasi,1969, p. 117

represents the stage of transition between the style of the Tughluqs and that of the succeeding dynasty.[30] The credit for the construction of Jami mosque at Badaun goes to Husain, son of Husain, who was *Kotwalbek* of Badaun[31] (726 A.H. / 1325-26 A.D.). It is the largest mosque built entirely of sandstone blocks, with the material from the temple.[32]

In this way, several other officials also constructed the buildings. Among, them we can mention the name of Qazi Husamuddin Hasan, who was the *Sadr* under Sultan Firuz Shah and constructed a Jami Masjid at a place called Koh Inam (Allahabad district, modern U.P.).[33] Similarly the name of a prominent Tughluq noble, Muhammad Taj commonly known as Zafar Khan Farsi,[34] constituted a Jami Mosque at Una village (in Junagarh district, Gujarat).[35] Malik Sumbul, who according to the inscription was *Mehtar-i-Sarāi* (Inn Keeper), had built Jami Mosque, as well as a *Sarai* (Inn) at a village called Bhadgaon (Baroda State), during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin

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[30] Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 25. For the architectural details of the mosque, see, Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 117; Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report, (Tour in Bundelkhan and Malwa – 1871-72; Central provinces, 1873-74 by J.D. Beglar)*, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 32-33.

[31] E. I. A. P. S., 1964, pp. 7-8; A. R. I. E., 1960-61, Appendix-D, no. 230; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 14.

[32] For more architectural details, see, Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 21.

[33] Inscription is dated 786 A.H. / 1384 A.D. See, E. I. A. P. S., 1964, pp. 18-19; A. R. I. E., 1961-62, Appendix-D, no. 297; Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 140. Though some names, which are recorded in the inscriptions did not match with the contemporary sources, but here, their post or titles are mentioned, as seen in several other examples.

[34] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 138-140; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 126; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 115; Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 126. He was Appointed *Naib Wazir*, with salary of four lakh *tanka* by Sultan Firuz.

[35] Dated 768 A. H. / 1367 A. D. See, E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 15-17; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, pp. 3-4; A. R. I. E., 1954-1955, Appendix-C, no. 160.

Tughluq.[36] At Veraval (in Kathiawad) Malik Salih Sultani, former *Buqchadar* constructed a Jami Mosque, in 732 A.H. / 1332 A.D.[37] Besides them, the name of a prominent noble, came, who was known as Zafar Khan, governor of Gujarat,[38] under Firuz Shah. He had constructed Jami Masjid in Kapadwanj (Gujarat), while Husam son of Imad was the supervisor of the construction of this edifice.[39] These references shows that the Tughluq nobles and officials were much interested in the constructing the buildings and even patronized the supervisors for their constructional activities.

Another very important noble of Firuz Shah, Husain, entitled Malik-ush-Sharq Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk, son of Amir-i-Miran,[40] who was also the governor of Gujarat, built a Jami Mosque in Patan in 759 A.H. / 1357-58 A.D.[41] Similarly, a Jami mosque was built by Salar Ulwi, during the governorship of Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq) at Rajamundary[42] Malik Shamsuddin Tawakkul built a Jami Mosque in Khanpur,[43] which is of considerable size, and perhaps the earliest built mosque

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[36] Dated 728 A.H. / 1328 A.D. See, Q.M. Moneer, *Two Unpublished Inscriptions of the Time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq*, E. I. A. P. S., 1939-40, pp. 23-26.

[37] Mahdi Husain, *Six Inscriptions*, E. I. A. P. S., 1957-58, pp. 38-39; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 170; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, pp. 5-6.

[38] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 583; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 207, 255; Eng. tr., pp. 137.

[39] Dated 772 A. H. / 1370-71 A. D. See E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 17-18; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 47.

[40] Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 350.

[41] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 8-9; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 77.

[42] G. Yazdani, *Inscription of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq from the Rajahmundary*, E. I. A. P. S., 1923-24, pp. 13-14; Desai, *Topographical List*, p. 136, no. 1400.

[43] Nazim, *Inscription*, E. I. A. P. S., 1933-34, pp. 46-47; A. R. I. E., 1978-79, Appendix-C, no. 80.

in Maharashtra by the Sultans of Delhi.[44]

Besides these Jami Mosques, a large number of other mosques were also constructed by Tughluqid nobles, officials and other rank holders, which indicate their patronage for building construction activities. These mosques were constructed by them in modern U.P., Delhi, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Bihar and at several other places. Thus, the evidence shows that Malik Ibrahim, *Naib-i-Barbak*[45] *Sultani* (Chief Ushrer of Sultan) constructed a mosque in the fort of Jaunpur during the reign of Firuz Shah.[46] It is a long, narrow structure of early Bengali type, having a simple arcade supported on carried Hindu pillars, with three low domes in the middle.[47]

Besides him, the names of Wazirs of Sultan Firuz, popularly known as Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, and his son Malik Junan Shah also entitled Khan-i-Jahan (II), are also prominent regarding their patronage to the art of building construction at a larger scale. Because of this fact, it is said that, "The lavish patronage of architecture and literature added lusture to the office of wazir by Khan-i-JahanJunan Shah.[48] Thus, the mosques like Begumpur Masjid, Kalu Sarai Masjid, Kalan Masjid at Nizamuddin, Kalan Masjid at Shahjahanabad as

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44 For some architectural details see, E. I. A. P. S., 1933-34, pp. 46-47.

45 Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 527; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 428, 430, 431-435; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 119; Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammdi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Part-2, p. 227, f.- 416 b.

46 E. I. A. P. S., 1975, pp. 21-25; A. R. I. E., 1965-66, Appendix-C, no. 581; Further, *Monumental Antiquities*, pp. 180; Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 43; Furgusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 521. Building is dated 761 A.H. / 1360 A.D.

47 For more details of the building see, Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 180; Furgusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 521; A. Fuhrer, *Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, Varansi, 1971, p. 25.

48 Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, pp. 117, 170, 173.

well as Khirki, Masjid, and tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Telingani, were said to have been constructed by them.

In the province of Rajasthan, also several mosques were constructed by the Tughluqid nobles at Didwana, Ladnun, Mandor and at Bayana. Tatar Khan Khabbaz (Baker) had built a mosque at Didwana (Jodhpur State),[49] while at the same place another mosque was constructed by Malik Kabir son of Khwajgi.[50] It is flat roofed, supported on four columns at the eastern side and stone walls on the other three sides.[51] During the governorship of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Chupan, the mosque at Ladnun was constructed (780 A.H. / 1378 A.D.) by local chiefs Alauddin Mubarak alias Jai Singh.[52] Similarly, during the governorship of Malik Taj-ud-Duwal, Ahmad, Son of Ayaz *(Shuhnai-i-Imarat* of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and *wazir* of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq), Hamid Ahmad built a mosque in Pathanwadi (at Prabhas Patana).[53]

Another major Tughluq official of Gujarat, Malik Fakhruddin, son of Khan-i-Azam Mahmud Bak,[54] eminent noble of Firuz Shah, constructed a

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[49] A. Chaghtai, *Some Inscriptions from Jodhpur State, Rajasthan*, E. I. A. P. S., 1949-50, p. 20; *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 38; A. R. I. E., 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 143; Desai, *Published Muslim*, pp. 58-59, no. 183.

[50] Ibid., pp. 20-21; Desai, *Published Muslim*, p. 59, no. 184.

[51] *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, p. 38.

[52] Desai, *Khalji and Tughluq*, E. I. A. P. S., 1972, pp. 23-31; A. R. I. E., 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 161; Desai, *Published Muslim*, pp. 100-101, no. 318.

[53] Z.A. Desai, *Inscription from the Museum of Antiquities, Junagarh*, E. I. A. P. S., 1955-56, p. 89; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, p. 45. The date is recorded as 720 A.H. / 1320 A.D., but Desai deciphered it as 726 A.H. / 1326 A.D.

[54] For Mahmud Bak, See, Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 527, 545, 583; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 86-87; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp. 119, 120-122.

mosque at Patan.[55] Shamsuddin Damghani, the governor of Gujarat entitled Malik-ush-Sharq,[56] had constructed a mosque in Baroda state.[57] In this regard the name of the post holder of *Sarpardadar* (Chief Curtain bearer) Malik Suhrab Zafar Khani is also remarkable for the construction of a mosque at Dholka.[58]

In Cambay, there are three important mosques, one built by Malik Qabul Quran Khwan, *Kotwal* of Cambay,[59] the order by Abdullah, during the governorship of Malik Mufarrih Sultani[60] (who was *Dawidar-i-Khass Rais-i-Mamalik* and *Muqti* of Cambay).[61] This mosque is an ordinary building without any architectural features. The third mosque was constructed during the same, (governorship of Malik Mufarrah Sultani, entitled Farhat-ul-Mulk), by Ahmad Wajih.[62]

The epigraphic records inform us that the Tughluqids like Qazi Jalal, *Qazi-ul-Quzzat* constructed the mosque at Mangrol,[63] while another mosque at

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[55] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 14-15.

[56] Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 493, 497, 498-502; Yahya, *Tarikh*, pp.132; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117

[57] G. Yazdani, *Seven Inscriptions from Baroda State*, E. I. A. P. S., 1939-40, pp. 1-2.

[58] He was entitled Mufakharul-Khwass. Mosque is dated 775 A.H. / 1373 A.D. See E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 18-19.

[59] Ibid., pp. 5-7; For Malik Qabul Quran Khwan see, Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 527.

[60] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 133.

[61] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 19-20.

[62] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[63] Ibid., pp. 23-24; A. R. I. E., 1954-55; Appendix-C, no. 150; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhawnagari*, pp. 9-10.

the same place, by Muhammad Khwaja Fariduddin Kalan, the *Sadr*.[64] The court servant of Sultan Firuz, patronized building construction through the construction of a mosque at Kaghzipura (near Daulatabad), his name was Malik-ul-Umara Ikhtiyaruddin Ulugh Azam Qubli Sultani (entitled Nasir-ul-Mulk).[65]

Besides Jami Mosques, other monuments built by them were *Idgahs* or *Namazgahs*, tombs, step-wells, wells, canals, tanks, *Inn* (Sarai) as well as *Khanqah* (Hospices) at a considerable scale. At Cambay, the *Idgah* was constructed by Malik Mufarrih Sultani in 783A.H. / 1381-82A.D.[66] During the governorship of Zafar Khan, another *Idgah* was constructed by Kamal Hamid at Mosampura (at Gogha).[67] Malik Tajuddin also constructed an *Idgah*, in Rai Barely district during the reign of Firuz Shah.[68]

Tombs were constructed by the Tughluqid nobles at a larg scale. Like mosques, tombs built by them displayed great variety in plan. Among the tombs, a leading example comes from Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul Telingani, Wazir of Firuz Shah. He initiated constructing his tomb which was completed by his son Junan Shah who got the same post with the same title.[69] The tomb of Khan-

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[64] He was the companion of Shamsuddin Firuz *Shahna-i-Bek* of the city and treasure of the Sultanate. See E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 27-30; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhawnagari*, pp. 12-13; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 152.

[65] E. I. A. P. S., 1957-58, pp. 39-40; A. R. I. E., 1958-59, Appendix-D, no. 52.

[66] Ibid., 1962, pp. 20-21; A. R. I. E., 1959-60, Appendix-D, no. 134.

[67] Ibid, 1962, pp. 37-38; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhawnagari*, pp. 7-8; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 23.

[68] A. R. I. E., 1965-66, Appendix-D, no. 608.

[69] Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, pp. 84.

i-Jahan Maqbul is of considerable importance because of its design and plan which was an invention in tomb architecture initiated by the builder himself. It resembles with the so called 'Mosque of Omar in Jeruslam' (originally built in 7th C.), because of its octagonal plan enclosed within rotating verandah roofed by a dome.[70] It is first octagonal tomb built at Delhi in 770 A.H. / 1368 A.D.[71] The plan of the tomb shows that it was the genius of the builder that he materialized the idea of typical Islamic octagonal tomb into a form at Delhi.[72]

Another prominent Tughluqid noble Zafar Khan,[73] governor of Gujarat, had built a tomb of a local saint known as Makhdum *Chirag-i-Hind,* during the reign of Firuz Shah in 781 A.H. / 1397 A.D.[74] It is a plain building with short pillars supporting a square dome.[75] The pillars are of different variety having shafts octagonal below, sixteen sided in middle, and circular at the top. The capitals are all round, the upper part being like a tulip-shaped bowl over which rests the bracket-capitals.[76] Besides, Zafar Khan, Muqarrabuddin, another prominent noble under the Tughluqs had built a tomb at Bangarmau (Unnao

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[70] Brown, *Indian Architecture*, p. 25; Rustam J. Mehta, *Masterpieces of Indo-Islamic Architecture*, Bombay, 1976, p. 10; Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, pp. 84-85; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 51. This pattern was used outside India, especially in Arabia at Dome of Rock, Mosque of Omar, earliest monumental Tomb – Qubbat as Sulaibiya, Tomb of Hulagu at Maragha and also in Tomb of Uljaitu Khudabanda at Sultaniya.

[71] Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 51.

[72] Nath, *Sultanate Architecture*, p. 84.

[73] Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 527; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 234, 206-7; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117.

[74] Fuhrer, *Sharqi Architecture*, p. 65.

[75] Ibid., p. 4.

[76] Ibid, pp. 65-66.

district, U.P.).[77]

At Mehrauli (Delhi) the tomb of great Khan, Alp Khan, was built by a person called Kafur Khani, out of his own money in 777 .AH./ 1376 A.D.[78] Another tomb of a saint Jalal ul Haq was constructed by also a nobleman, named Malik Ishaq Lashkari, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah in 815 A.H. / 1412 A.D. at Panipat.[79] Thus, the tombs constructed by the nobles and officials at different places, in a large number, further indicate their inclination towards the art of building construction and patronage to the building activities at a larger scale.

The evidence shows construction of forts by the nobles. Isami referred to Ulugh Khan later Sultan Muhammad, who ordered Ahmad Ayaz *(Shahna-i-Imarat)* to construct a fort at Afghanpur which later fall and led to the death of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.[80] While Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija (having Sirhind and its adjoining areas under his control), was ordered by Sultan to build a fort at Firuzpur.[81] Similarly, Malik Mujir Abu Rija was given the charge of repairing the fortress of Kalapur.[82]

A significant epigraph records that Malik Mukhlis Daud Khan has constructed the fort (Hisar) at Tajpur Basahi in Saran district of Bihar in 774

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[77] E. I. A. P. S., 1964, pp. 16-18; A. R. I. E., 1961-62, Appendix-D, no. 324.

[78] A. R. I. E., 1969-70, Appendix-D, no. 65. No other information comes about Kafur Khani, but Barani Mention Alp Khan, son of Qutlugh Khan in his list of leading nobles of Firuz Shah. See, *Tarikh*, p. 527.

[79] A. R. I. E., 1971-72, Appendix-D, no. 32.

[80] See, Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 417; Eng. tr., vol. ii, pp. 630-631; For Ahmad Ayaz, see, Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 424, 454.

[81] Badaoni, *Muntakhab*, p. 248; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 130; Eng. tr. Basu, p. 137.

[82] Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 101; Eng. tr. H. Beveredge, Delhi, 1992, p. 103.

A.H. / 1373 A.D.[83] Khan-i-Azam Zafar Khan, son of Wajih, Muqti of Gujarat constructed a strong fort at Mangrol in 803 A.H. / 1400 A.D.[84] The work of making the rings and loops of the gates strong and high city wall of Mangrol in steel and iron was carried out at the instance of MalikYaqub by his brother Malik Musa, who was the *Kotwāl* of that town. Earlier the *Halaqā* (Chains) of the doors were not of iron. Malik Musa required two hundred mans of iron for strengthening the fort.[85]

We have further evidence about the existence of Hospices and inns for the travellers. Sultans and nobles set up the *Khanqāhs* and provided large sum for their maintenance.[86] One surviving example is of the *Khanqah* of Sayyid-ul-Hujjab. The building of this *Khanqah* stands on a raised ground and consists of a domed structure to the north and of two arched *dalāns* opposite to it to the south. The domed structure seems to have been the tomb of Sayyid-ul-Hujjab Malik Maruf. In the west wall of the western *dalān* (court) is a staircase leading to the roof. Maruf was a favourite noble of Firuz Shah, enjoying the rank and title of Malik Saiyyid-ul-Hujjab, the Chief of Chamberlains. He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin.[87]

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[83] Qeyamuddin, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian*, pp. 57-59; A. R. I. E., 1962-63, Appendixendix-D, no. 25; Z.A. Desai, *A Tughluq Inscription from North Bihar*, Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume Dacca Museum, 1966, pp. 201-203.

[84] E. I. A. P. S., 1962, pp. 38-40; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-C, no. 137. For Zafar Khan, See, Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 117.

[85] Ibid., pp. 32-37; A. R. I. E., 1954-55, Appendix-B, no. 513, and Appendix-C, no. 136.

[86] Luniya, *Life and Culture*, p. 91, 229.

[87] Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 40. For Maruf, See, Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 527-528; Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 445-51.

Malik Zainuddin Majdul-Mulk, *Muqti* of Bihar under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq had constructed a *Khanqah* by the order of the Sultan for the Sufi saint of *Firdausia* order Sheikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri. Revenue from Rajgir was granted for the upkeep of this *Khanqah* which was in lakhs. Majdul-Mulk hand over the charge of this *Khanqah* to the Shaikh, who agreed reluctantly to accept the assignment for the time being only for the sake of his disciple Majdul Mulk, the *muqti* of Bihar.[88]

Furthermore, Ibn Battuta in his travel account gave us several references which show that khanqahs or hospices were built by the Tughluqid nobles. He informs that Sheikh Ibrahim, who was the *Muqti* of Dhar, had built a hospice on the hillock which dominated the city of Dhar. He used to feed the way farers at Khanqah.[89] Ibn Battuta records that at every station from Delhi to Daulatabad, there was a hospice for the travellers that provided their needs.[90] Ibn Battuta further says that when he was going for Bhakar, on the way, there was a fine hospice which was constructed by Kishlu Khan during his governorship of Sindh. Here food was supplied to all the travellers free of cost.[91] Another hospice referred by him was built (outside the *darwāza* of Palam, close to a tomb there of Sheikh Ibrahim al-Qunawi), by Wazir of Sultan, Khwaja Jahan Ahmad bin Ayaz. It was this hospice, where the daughter

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[88] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp. 538-39, 560, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp. 330-331; Rashid, *Society and Culture*, p. 64; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 145.

[89] Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, p. 167.

[90] Ibid., p. 63.

[91] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 603.

of Ibn Battuta was buried.[92] Lastly, Ziya-ul-Haq, governor of the province of Bihar too had built a Khanqah during the reign of Mahmud Shah, which was completed in 799 A.H. / 1396-97 A.D. that may be a shelter for the weak.[93] Malik Asaduddin, the governor of Khizrabad, is said to have constructed a very beautiful palace of pleasing appearance called *Sultan-Sarai* (Place for the rest) at Khizrabad (Chittorgarh, Rajasthan) for Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.[94]

Thus both religious and secular buildings were constructed by the Tughluqid nobles. Among the category of secular structures, several wells, step-wells, *bāolis,* canals, tanks (water-reservoir) were constructed by them. Several wells were constructed, as for example a well was excavated at Bediban (Champaran, Bihar), during the governorship of Izzuddin Malik-ul-Umara *(Qazi-i-Muhr-i-Khass)*.[95] A step well at Batihagarh (near Damoh) was constructed when Malik Juljin was governor and Jalaluddin Ahsan Husaini was his *naib* (deputy governor).[96] During the governorship of Malik Kamaluddin Ahmad Khiram, another step well was constructed through the best efforts of

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[92] Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, p. 383.

[93] E. I. A. P. S., 1961, pp. 32-34.

[94] Building is dated 725 A.H. / 1325 A.D. See, Z.A. Desai, *Inscription from the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur*, E. I. A. P. S., 1955-56, pp. 68-70; A. R. I. E., 1955-56, Appendix-D, no. 127; Desai, *Published Muslim*, p. 56, no. 175. Barani mentions one Malik Asaduddin, *Naib Barbak* of Sultan Ghiyasuddin. See Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 428.

[95] During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq in 747 A.H. / 1346 A.D. See Qeyamuddin, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian*, pp. 30-32; A. R. I. E., 1956-57, Appendix-D, No. 68; E. I. A. P. S., 1961, p. 25.

[96] Dated 725 A.H. / 1324-25 A.D. see, Mahdi Husain, *Six Inscriptions*, E. I. A. P. S., 1957-58, pp. 35-38; A. R. I. E., 1975-76, Appendix-D, no. 114; A. R. I. E., 1969-1970, Appendix-D, no. 66.

Bamdev son of Nathu.[97] While Malik Muzaffar, governor of Baroda was ordered to build a well, along with a mosque at Karakhdi (Baroda district) and the village official Moka Mehta son of Kita Mehta was appointed the trustee of the endowment.[98]

As the Tughluq Sultan were engaged in constructing lakes and tanks in Delhi and Daulatabad, certain *walis, Muqtas* (governors) seems to have equally been participated in the constructional works of public utility in their respective provinces. Contemporary records shed light on the construction of lakes and tanks at several places. For instance, the inscription found at Bari Khatu refers that the *Muqta* (governor) Malik Firuz bin Muhammad (*Shahna-i-Bek* of royal stables) had ordered to build a fairly large lake named Firuz Sagar to Tajuddin Daulat wad din, Khalaful-Mulk.[99]

Ferishta records that Qutlugh Khan[100] constructed a water reservoir (*Hauz*) which was called *Hauz-i-Qutlugh Khani* at Daulatabad, which was later completed by his brother.[101] Another inscription of Badaon district records the construction of a canal by Khwaja Jahan-ush-Sharq, the founder of Jaunpur

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[97] For details see, Y.K. Bukhari, *Inscription from Archaeological Museum, Ajmer*, E. I. A. P. S., 1955-56, pp. 57-60; A. R. I. E., 1955-56, Appendix-D, no. 135.

[98] Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 158; A. R. I. E., 1963-64; Appendix-D, no. 85; A. R. I. E., 1961-62, Appendix-C, no. 1311.

[99] Ibid., p. 263; E. I. A. P. S., 1967, pp. 8-10; A. R. I. E., 1962-63, Appendix-D, no. 194.

[100] Barani, *Tarikh*, pp.424, 454.

[101] Qutlugh Khan was Sultan's teacher and was raised to the rank of a high noble, also held the post of governor. See, Ferishta, *Tarikh*, p. 140; Eng. tr. John Briggs, vol. I, Calcutta. 1966, pp. 249-250; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, pp. 66-67.

dynasty, and leading Tughluqid noble, in 798 A.H. / 1395 A.D.[102] Like Firuz Shah, some of his nobles also seems to have improved water resources in their *iqtas*. His wazir, Khan-i-Jahan Mqbul took measures to create conditions favourable for socio-economic growth in his iqta, through the construction of a number of canals; *sarais* (Inns) and *bazaar* as well as gardens were planted.[103] Orders were also issued by Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, as a governor to his subordinate to repair three old canals.[104] One inscription records the construction of a *Bāoli* at Meerut district by Ashar Khan, a commander in the army of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.[105] Malik Zafar Khan had followed his Sultan, through founding a city Zafarabad, that is situated on the right bank of Gumti river at Jaunpur district, he called it *Shahr-i-Anwar*.[106]

To conclude, the nobles, officials and other rank holders followed the Sultans and patronized the building construction. Due to their patronage, several Jami Mosques, Mosques, *Īdgahs*, tombs, Khanqahs, as well as other secular buildings like wells, step-wells, Inns, *Bāolis*, Canals, tanks and other water reservoirs were constructed for the use of general public. The construction activities undertaken by the nobles, provided employment to the common people and was, for this reason, a social welfare activity. The

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[102] Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 23; For Khwaja Jahan Malik Sarwar see, Afif, *Tarikh*, pp.338; Yahya, *Tarikh*, p. 146; Bihamid Khani, *Tarikh*, Hindi tr., p. 227, f. 416b; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, p. 124-125.

[103] Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, p. 275.

[104] These are *Ju-i-Nasiriah*, *Ju-i-Qutbwah* and *Ju-i-Khizrwah*, see, Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, letter no. 114, pp. 204-205; Abha, *Tughluq Architecture*, p. 70; Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship*, pp. 272-273.

[105] Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*, p. 10.

[106] Ibid., p. 185.

buildings constructed by the nobles were not merely utilitarian, but symbolically conveyed the might and grandeur off the ruling classes. The building construction activity was, indeed, a socio-cultural activity, and the resources expended on the construction of buildings brought back for the nobles prestige, honour and legitimacy.

Conclusion

Sources referred to the high salaries given to the nobles along with the assigned revenue from the *iqtas*. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq fixed the salary of fifty thousands of gold *tankas* to Khudawandzadah Ziyauddin, fourty thousands to Amir Bakht, twenty-four thousands to Hibatullah al-Falaki, and twelve thousands to Ibn Battuta who was appointed the *Qazi* of Delhi. Similarly, Firuz Shah also awarded salaries in thousands to his nobles.

On the other hand gifts and rewards were among the secondary sources of income which made them much wealthy. Horses, camels and even in some cases elephants were among the gifts from Sultans to his nobles. Besides it, other valuables like weapons, jewels, wealth in cash, gold and silver, costly clothes were also given as gifts. Tughluqid nobles not only get gifts from Sultans, but other nobles, governors and even officials gave them valuable gifts. Sultans also received valuable gifts from his nobles. Even every year *muqtis* came with the large number of well-dressed and well-mannered slaves to the royal court in way to present them to Sultan and get his favour.

Besides high salaries, large assignments and huge gifts the other source of income was wealth through bribe and corruption. In this regard Afif even condemns very prominent noble of Firuz Shah Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija for his corrupt practices and bribe taking from other people, which made him enormously wealthy. As a result of bribery and other corrupt practices this noble had accumulated great wealth which was estimated about eighty thousand gold *tankas* and other three thousand gold *tankas* in cash. Another

noble Malik Imad ul-Mulk Bashir Sultani was also known for his huge wealth which was in crores. And when it was calculated it crossed the figure of twelve crores of gold *tankas* in which nine crores were taken by Sultan. Thus the sources indicate that the nobility amassed huge wealth through salaries, assignments, awards, bribe and corruption.

Direct and indirect references in the sources indicate the manners and etiquettes of the nobility. These sources gave us a very graphic account of the royal court, court ceremonies, royal processions and finally the presence of the nobles with some of the prescribed etiquettes of the period. The court etiquettes and rituals were elaborate and provided considerable symbolic capital to the Sultans and the nobility. At the same time, they reinforced hierarchical relations between the nobility and the ruling class.

Given the immense resources that were accessible to the nobles, there was a lot of investment of resources on ostentation and display. Generosity was considered an important social ethic, and the ethic of generosity was played out in court culture through gift-exchanges, elaborate feasts and festivities.

Feasts and festivals were celebrated in great details in the period. They not only attended the royal feasts but also invited other nobles and officials at their palaces for feasts. Ibn Battuta attended several feasts at the residences of nobles at several occasions. Thus large kitchens were maintained by the nobles and they spent huge sums on feasts and festivals.

Festivals like *Īd*, *Shab-i-Barat* and *Nauroz* were celebrated by the nobles. Ibn Battuta, *Qazi* of Delhi, used to distribute food on the occasions like *Īd*,

birthday of Prophet, *āshura* day (tenth of *Muharram*), and the midnight of *Sha'bān,* also on the death anniversary of Sultan Qutbuddin Khalji. These festivals were celebrated on a magnificent scale. The participation of musicians, singers as well as lavish decoration and awards also added the elegance in these festivities.

Among the games, hunting was the most popular game as well as great source of recreation. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq used to go on hunting expeditions. As a result of his interest in hunting, a separate hunting department was established and high ranking nobles were included on hunting expeditions. Nobles and officials accompanied Sultans in hunting expeditions with all necessary requirements and the hunting events was a communal event, full of excitement and fun.

Besides hunting music was also a source for recreation for the nobles. The compilation of the work on Indian music, *Ghunyat-ul-munyā* was undertaken by the order of the governor of Gujarat, Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija, who was a prominent noble of Firuz Shah Tughluq. The author says that the patron of this anonymous author Abu Rija ordered it, because he felt the strain of hard work. He found relaxation in listening to the Persian *Samā* and Hindavi *Sarod.*

As far as food was concerned, large kitchens were maintained by the nobles. Kitchen establishment was also a part of their household and domestic life. Valets, cooks, running footmen, water-bearer, sherbet-dispensers, betel-givers, arm-bearers, spear-bearers, umbrella-bearers, laver-carriers, chamberlains and heralds were the domestic functionaries (*hāshia*) at a large scale. Expert cooks were also patronized by the nobles. Several kinds of rich

dishes were served to these nobles daily prepared with the flour, meat, sugar-candy, butter and betel. Some of rich and lavish dishes were thin round cakes of bread, roasted meat, roasted sheep called *zallāh*, dough cakes, *Khishti*, meat cooked with ghee, onion, and green ginger, *Hāshimi* (rice cooked with ghee and chicken), and *Samusak*, which was much favourite dish of the nobles at that time. References regarding *Khichri* (mixed rice and pulse) and various types of bread and sweetmeats also came from the sources. Sugared water or several kinds of sherbet like barley-water (*fuqqā*) and julep-water were also served before and after the meal. Besides betel prepared with costly ingredients and areca nuts were also part of their meal. These rich dishes were served in the vessels of gold and silver, glass, brass and even in chinaware. Thus it shows rich as well as lavish dishes in much precious vessels of gold and silver.

The harem and slaves of the nobles were the significant features of noble's household. Large harem and slaves were maintained by them. There were about two thousand women of Rome and China in the harem of Khan-i-Jahan, Prime Minister of Firuz shah, which indicates his fond of women. Similarly others also kept with them slave girls whenever and wherever they moved and liked the company of their slave-girls.

Lastly the patronage to literature and architecture was another aspect of the court life of the nobility. Not only the Tughluq Sultans patronized literature and building construction, but their nobility was also prominent in this regard. In the field of patronage to literature there were some nobles who were personally involved in it while others patronized it through giving patronage to

scholars and poets. Nobles like Malik Ikhtisan Dabir, Malik Ain-ul-Mulk, Tatar Khan, Abu Rija, Ibn Battuta, Rafi Hajib-i-Khairat, were among them whose compositions were much significant. Their literary achievements reveal the fact that besides their political involvement and busy schedule they were much interested in literature.

On the other hand there were literary personages like Kamal Karim Nagori, patronized by Qutlugh Khan, governor of Daulatabad, who composed a work of *fiqh* (*Majmu-i-Khāni*) which was in Persian. Tatar Khan patronized the compilers of *Fatawā-i-Tatārkhani* and *Tafsir-i-Tatarkhāni*, significant works of that period because the works were compiled by the board of scholars on the demand of the patron, which was significant contribution in the field of *fiqh*. Mulla Daud, patronized by Khan-i-Jahan, composed *Chandāyan* which was the much famous Hindi *masnavi* that even its verses were recited from the pulpit of the mosque till the reign of Akbar. Mutahhar of Kara composed a full *Diwān* consisting of several panegyrics of his patron Malik Ain-ul-Mulk.

Thus, because of the literary activities and patronage given by the Tughluqid nobles several works on such subjects like *Fiqh*, *Tafsir* (commentary on Quran), *Fatāwa* (muslim law), *Inshā* (letter writing), *Farhang* (lexicographical work), *Masnavi*, Music, *Qasidā* (panegyric), Indian tale, and *Diwān* were composed.

Following their Sultans, the nobles and officials under the Tughluq Sultans constructed a large number of buildings like Jami Mosques, Mosques, *Īdgāhs*, *Sarai* (inns), *Baolis* (step-wells), wells, tanks, *Khanqahs*, canals, even

in some case cities were also founded by them. In regard of architectural features these buildings were of different types and varieties in plans, which are significant and fulfills the objective. The information in this regard came to us from the inscriptions from the buildings.

The names of Malik Ahmad bin Ayaz (Chief Architect), Malik Ghazi Shahna (*naib* of *Mir Imarat*) and Zahir-ul-Juyush are not only significant but the epigraphs of the period record a long list of nobles and officials who constructed several buildings, sometimes out of their own pockets. Khan-i-Jahan wazir and his son were great builders of that time. They constructed many mosques at Delhi, which were much significant in their plans and dimensions. The tomb build by him was similarly significant, because it was the first octagonal tomb built at Delhi and the pattern was earlier seen at Arabia especially at Dome of Rock, Mosque of Omar, Qubbat-us-Sulaibiya (earliest monumental tomb), and Tomb of Halaqu at Maragha and also in the Tomb of Uljaitu Khudabanda at Sultaniya.

To conclude, the study has revealed the diversity in the socio-cultural life of the Tughluq nobility. It has studied the centralization of resources in the hands of the nobility. The huge income of the nobility created a court culture marked by ostentation and display. The extravagant lifestyle of the nobility served as the backdrop to elaborate ceremonies, rituals and social practices, which marked the cultural life under the Tughluq nobility.

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